FBIS

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CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

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ALBANIA

- MESUESI Comments on Dismissals in Kosovo Schools B 1

BULGARIA

- Solidarity 'Strives After Chaos and Anarchy' C 1
- Razgrad Okrug, Other Workers Denounce Solidarity C 3
- Todor Bozhinov Leaves for Warsaw 17 September C 3
- RABOTNICHESKO DELO on Zhivkov Birthday Greetings C 4
  - PLO's 'Arafat [13 Sep] C 4
  - Nicaraguan Sandinist Front [14 Sep] C 4
  - Vietnamese Leaders' Greetings [10 Sep] C 5
  - PCF Central Committee [10 Sep] C 6
  - Spanish CP's Carrillo [10 Sep] C 6
  - Laotian Leaders' Greetings [13 Sep] C 6
- RABOTNICHESKO DELO Cites Greetings on National Day C 7
  - Castro's Greetings [10 Sep] C 7
  - Mozambique's Machel [14 Sep] C 7
  - Afghan Leaders' Greetings [14 Sep] C 8
  - Nicaraguan Greetings [14 Sep] C 8
  - Greetings From Ethiopia [14 Sep] C 9
- Interior Minister Marks Militia Anniversary [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 14 Sep] C 9
- Briefs: Trade With Soviet Union C 10

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- PZPR Statement Supported; 'Appeal' Scored D 1
  - Sojka: Method 'Boomeranged' D 1
  - Solidarity Statement Scored D 1
  - Workers Condemn 'Appeal' D 2
  - Support for Statement D 2
  - People's Protest of 'Appeal' D 2
  - Solidarity's 'Program Line' [Minarik in Bratislava PRAVDA 15 Sep] D 3
- Treaty, Communique on Husak's Visit to PDRY D 5
  - Friendship Treaty [RUDE PRAVO 15 Sep] D 5
  - CSSR-Yemeni Communique [RUDE PRAVO 15 Sep] D 7
- RUDE PRAVO Praises Treaties With Ethiopia, PDRY D 12
- Haig's Neutron Bomb 'Advocacy' in FRG Viewed [RUDE PRAVO 15 Sep] D 12
- BCP Delegation Attends Prague Anniversary Soiree D 13
- Polednik Meets With Visiting PCP Delegation D 13
- Trade Protocol With DPRK Signed in Korea D 13

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Solidarity Cited for 'Slandering.' 'Insult' E 1
CPUSA Leader Gus Hall Meets With Honecker E 1
    17 Sep Talks E 1
    ADN on Honecker Toast E 3
European Catholic Journalists Meet in Berlin E 4
    Meeting Opens 10 Sep E 4
        [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 10 Sep]
    Concluded 12 Sep E 4
        [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 12 Sep]
Willi Stoph Addresses War Memorial Meeting E 4
Konrad Naumann Addresses Berlin Activists E 5
Stoph Awards Karl Marx Order to Guenther Kleiber E 5

HUNGARY

Janos Berecz Writes on Events, Lessons of 1956 F 1
Further Reportage on Kuwaiti Leader's Visit F 4
    Farewell, Departure F 4
    MTI: Communique on Talks F 4
Joint Standpoints Expressed Against Solidarity TU F 6
Puja Leaves for UN General Assembly Session F 7
Delegates Address IPU Conference in Havana F 7
Briefs: Mexican Envoy Received F 7

POLAND

Warsaw on CPSU Statement; 'Anti-Sovietism' Complaint G 1
Extraordinary Meeting of Council of Ministers G 2
    Communique Issued G 2
Meeting of Central Committee Secretariat Ends G 5
Reaction to PZPR Politburo Solidarity Statement G 6
    Solidarity Criticism G 6
    More on TU Statement G 6
    Bratkowski Open Letter [Stockholm] G 6
    'Playing With Fire' G 7
    Rakowski Views Statement G 7
    ZBOWID Supports Statement G 8
TRYBUNA LUDU Hits Solidarity on Self-Government G 8
        [Krauss, 14 Sep]
DER SPIEGEL Interviews Rakowski on Solidarity G 10
        [14 Sep]
Various Strike Readiness, Alerts Continue G 19
    Pila Printing Indictment G 19
    Printers' Solidarity Demands G 19
    Wroclaw Calls Off Alert G 19
    Concern Over Supplies G 20
ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI Views 'Anticommunist Trend' G 20
    More on ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI G 20
Solidarity Replaces Censored Page in Paper G 21
    Background to Suspension G 21
Katowice Solidarity Protests Resolution 199 G 21
Interior Ministry Workers Issue Statement G 22
'Anxiety' Seen Following Solidarity Congress G 22
        [Bielecki in TRYBUNA LUDU 12-13 Sep]
TRYBUNA LUDU Cites Farmers' Solidarity Aims [14 Sep] G 24
Warsaw Printers Vote To Join TU National Body G 25
Metallurgists Union Discusses Plant Situation G 25
Warsaw Reports Current Progress of Harvest Work G 26
Grain Harvest Figures Noted; Imports Needed G 26
        [TRYBUNA LUDU 14 Sep]

PAP Notes Livestock Procurement Figures Declining G 27
Coal, Power Supplies Are 'Most Urgent Problems' G 27
[TRYBUNA LUDU 15 Sep]
Government Press Conference Held on Draft Budget G 28
Maritime Minister Holds Meeting in Gdansk G 29
Communique on Polish Episcopate Conference Noted G 29
[Vatican City]
Chemical, Light Industries Set Up Anticrisis Staff G 30
PAP Describes Types of Crime Increasing G 30
PZPR Officials Attend Local Party Meetings G 31
Wozniak in Czestochowa G 31
Opalko at Tarnow Meeting G 31
Briefs: Polish-Romanian Contract G 31

ROMANIA

Communique on Kuwait Amir's Visit Issued 14 Sep H 1
[SCINTEIA 15 Sep]
Petrescu Signs Joint Trade Protocol in Moscow H 3
[SCINTEIA 15 Sep]
Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Ramadan Visits H 3
Ceausescu Receives Iraqi H 3
Verdet-Ramadan Talks H 4
'Ali Talks With Burtica H 5
Ceausescu Congratulates Nicaraguan Leaders H 5
[SCINTEIA 15 Sep]
Greek EDA Party Leader Visits Bucharest H 5
Talks With Ceausescu H 5
Iliou Departs 17 Sep H 6

YUGOSLAVIA

PZPR Politburo Statement on Solidarity Noted I 1
Joint Statement Issued on Haig Visit 12-13 Sep I 1
[BORBA 14 Sep]
Kuwaiti Amir Meets With Djuranovic, Kraigher I 2
Official Talks Conclude I 3
Economic Cooperation Talks With Iran Reported I 4
Talks Begin I 4
Kostic-Nemazi Meeting I 4
Talk With Ikonic I 4
Series of Talks Between LCY, Other Parties Noted I 5
Greek Military Delegation Arrives in Belgrade I 6
Grlichkov on Role of Nonaligned Movement I 6
LCY Central Committee Presidium Meets 17 Sep I 9
Commission Discusses Resolution for LCY Congress I 9
[BORBA 11 Sep]
Assembly Committee Discusses Economic Situation I 10
Chamber of Economy Reviews Trade With Albania I 10
[BORBA 9 Sep]
Kosovo Defense Council Views Territorial Defense I 11
[POLITIKA 15 Sep]
Sinan Hasani Discusses Security in Province I 11
Kosovo Still Lacks 1981-85 Development Plan I 12
[BORBA 11 Sep]
Matkaliev, Kostic Review Energy Situation I 13
'Difficult' Energy Situation Foreseen for 1982 I 14
Trial of Poet Critical of Tito Reported I 15
Trial Resumes 16 Sep I 15
Poet Sentenced to 2 Years I 15
AFP Reports Sentence I 16
Minic Addresses Kosijeric Memorial Meeting I 16
Two Escapees Die in Clash With Kosovo Militia I 17
Macedonian Court Sentences 3 Albanians for Espionage I 17

MESUESI COMMENTS ON DISMISSALS IN KOSOVO SCHOOLS

AU161125 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 16 Sep 81

["Albanian school in Kosova under the blows of great-Serb chauvinism--article in the newspaper "MESUESI"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 16 Sep (ATA)--Under the above title the "MESUESI", organ of the Ministry of Education and Culture of the P.S.R. of Albania, carries today an article on the heavy blows being dealt by the great-Serbs to Albanian school and education in Kosovo.

The article reads among others:

The new school year began in Kosovo in heavy and extraordinary conditions, when a savage police terror has burst out throughout the region, when hundreds of pupils and patriot teachers have been expelled from the secondary schools and have been dismissed from jobs, when drastic measures are being taken against the Albanian school and text-books.

According to the data of the Kosovo press and the Yugoslav news agency "TANJUG", after the demostrations of spring this year, hundreds of pupils have been expelled from the secondary schools in Kosovo and about 365 teachers have been dismissed from the secondary and 8-grade schools. A great number of pupils, about 380 have been expelled from the schools of the commune of Pristina. About 160 teachers have been sacked in this commune. In the secondary technical school ("Nikolla Tesla") alone of Oblic, there was dismembered the whole pedagogical council of 80 people, there were laid off the director and vice-directors and there were expelled a great number of pupils. 67 pupils have been expelled from the schools of the commune of Ferizaj, "Various disciplinary measures" that go from 1 to 2 months of imprisonment have been passed on about 351 pupils of this commune. 26 teachers have been dismissed from job in this commune. Dozens of other teachers have been dismissed in the communune of Vucitern, in that of Glogovc, Istog, Podujeva, etc.

Worried about the political complications that these draconian measures can arise, the press of Kosovo insists that a dense propaganda must be conducted with the pupils, their parents and teachers to make them conscious that during the current school year they will no longer have in their schools a part of the dismissed school-mates, teachers and colleagues.

The dismissal from job of hundreds of patriot teachers, the newspaper "MESUESI" stresses, is a heavy blow that the great-Serbs are dealing to Albanian school and education in Kosovo, this is occuring at a time when the press of Kosovo itself is pointing out the shortage of teachers UN the 8-grade and secondary schools.

These measures have erected new difficulties before the Albanian school in Kosovo, they have made still more acute the lack of cadres and will bring about disorders in the educational process in the 8-grade and secondary schools.

The newspaper "MESUESI" writes further on: The whole Albanian educational system in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, from the elementary to the higher one is under the big stick of the great-Serbs. A heavy blow was dealt to the plan-programs and educational text-books in the Albanian language. These blows to the Albanian school, the article underlines, are integral part of the frenzied anti-Albanian campaign that the darkest reactionary forces in Yugoslavia are undertaking against the national affirmation of the Albanians, against everything they have achieved through their efforts and blood-shed in the elaboration of the national education and culture.

This whole complex of measures being taken against the 8-grade and secondary education system in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, aims at hitting the Albanian national content of the Albanian school, at depriving it from the cultural heritage and from the national and democratic historic traditions of all the Albanian people and in particular of the Albanians of Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, at depriving the younger generation of the possibility to get acquainted with this treasure of the Albanian culture and educate itself with it.

It is not accidental that fierce blows have been dealt precisely to those text-books which have to do with culture, Albanian language and national history of the Albanians, as are the text-books of literary reading and those of the Albanian language in the 8-grade schools, the text-books of the Ablanian language and literature of the secondary schools and all the text-books of the history for the 8-grade and secondary schools, or that they have been removed from use, all these texts-book, except for the grammar and syntax of the Albanian language for the 7-8 class, are workd by Kosovo authors, approved and published by the respective institutions of the autonomous region of Kosovo and the republics of Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro.

The Serb chauvinists try in vain to justify these measures with the need of the struggle against "Albanian national romanticism", "the glorification of the literary and historic figures of the past", or with the struggle "against the indoctrination of school youth with the ideas of the PLA" and other inventions of the kind.

It is clear that the question has not to do either with the protection from the so-called Albanian nationalism or irredentism, or "dogmatic indoctrination" which has allegedly been introduced in the text-books by the PSR of Albania, but at hitting everything Albanian, the language, literature, history and the whole national culture of the Albanians of Kosovo and other territories in Macedonia and Montenegro.

The other changes being made in the text-books of the Albanian language and literature, the shortening and reduction of the works by N. Frasheri, Cajupi, N. Jeda, F. Noli, Migjeni, S. Spase, I. Kadare, D. Agolli, Hasan Merkuli, Hivzi Suleimani, etc. Can be explained only in the framework of the attacks being undertaken against the Albanian culture in Kosovo and Yugoslavia. As for the creativity of N. Frasheri, "the Nightingale of the Albanian Language", it has openly been stated that it will be given in a simpler form and that greater attention will be devoted to the illuminism and the educative viewpoints of Naim Frasheri than to the patriotic content of his deed.

The inquisation that the great-Serb clan is undertaking against the Albanian text books is evidence of a retrogressive process, of the attemtps being made in Yugoslavia to again come back to the former policy of open national discrimination against and denationalisation of the Albanians. It is not accidental that in the higher forums of Serbia and Yugoslavia, after the march-April 1981 demonstrations, it was spoken and still it is being spoken nowadays on the replacement of the Albanian national content of the Albanian text-books and school in general with the "Yugoslav spirtual values" so as to educate the Albanian pupils with the so-called "Yugoslav patriotism" which is a camouflaged variant of bankrupt idea on "Yugoslavisation" (to be more precise: on the Serbisation of all the peoples of Yugoslavia) propagated by the King Alexander in the period between the two world wars. The replacement of the text-books prepared by the Albanians of Kosovo with text-books and materials translated from the Serb language is a clear testimony to the fact the Serb chauvinists are passing from words to deeds.

As a result of the changes being made in the Albanian programmes and text-books in Kosovo and more redically in Macedonia and Montenegro, attempts are being made to use the Albanian school (in the conditions when they have it difficult to completely liquidate it) as a means for the denationalisation and Serbisation or Slavisation of the Albanians. But the fate of such a policy is known. Its present advocates should not forget the bitter experience and failures of their distant and near ancestors, the chauvinist hated by all the peoples of Yugoslavia, Rankovic. As to the Albanians of Kosovo and of the whole of Yogoslavia, they have brilliant traditions and rich experience in the struggle for the preservation of their national identity from the enemies of all hues. In the future too, they will know how to preserve and further develop the Albanian national language, school and culture, for which they have shed their pure blood along the centuries of the Albanian history. From the information of TANJUG, it comes out clearly that by now the campaign for the "clearance" of the Albanian text books has met with the resistance of various pedagogues and scholars. Further on the newspaper "MESUESI" mentions numerous facts and examples showing of the repressive police measures that the republican organs and local authorities in Macedonia and Montenegro have adopted against the Albanian pupils and teachers and the Albanian school and text-books.

Apart from the teachers who were sacked during July-August 1981, other teachers of the secondary and 8-grade schools were laid off in the territories of Albanian population of Macedonia, on the eve of the new school year.

The dismissal from job of the Albanian teachers in Macedonia and the other repressive measures adopted against them have seriously hit and damaged the Albanian school. The Kosovo press itself, referring to the Macedonian sources, writes that "It is not ensured the sufficient number of cadres who will teach the Albanian language".

Essential were changes made in the teaching programs and text-books in the Albanian language and literature for the elementary, 8-grade and secondary schools in Macedonia as well. There were attacked in particular the reading text-books for the 8-grade school, those of language and literature for the secondary schools (the Albanian classes) and those of history in all the educational system, 8-grade and secondary schools.

The newspaper mentions also the removal of such text-books from the Albanian schools in Montenegro.

The chauvinism and the anti-Albanian policy in Macedonia, the newspaper "MESUESI" writes further on, have taken such proportions that in some communes open attempts are being made to do away with the Albanian school, to consider the Albanian classes as an expression of the Albanian nationalism and to deprive the Albanians of the right to be taught in their mother tongue, recognised by the Yugoslav Constitution and those of the republics. Seriously are being hit in Macedonia also those achievements that the Albanians have attained with so many sacrifices and great struggle in the field of education and culture.

Then the article gives facts showing that the number of pupils in Kosovo during the current school year is reduced with 9 thousand people, the compulsory character of school has never been carried out completely, the school buildings are insufficient, the number of the teachers in the secondary schools is reduced with 600 people, etc.

In conclusion the newspaper "MESUESI" writes: Despite the achievements of the Albanians of Kosovo in the field of education during these recent 10 years, the difficulties and problems which the Albanian school in Kosovo, in Macedonia and in Montenegro is coming across, incontestibly prove that the general level of the development of Albanian education in Kosovo and in other territories is far from what one might consider, as occurred in the highest forums of the Federation and of Serbia some time ago, an "explosive widespread" of Albanian education and urgently ask for the carrying out of a school reform which would limit this education. [sentence as received]

[Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian on 16 September carries a report on a MESUESI article which renders the previous passage:

["Despite the achievements of the Albanians in Kosovo during the past 10 years in the field of education, the difficulties and problems which the Albanian school in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro is encountering, incontestably prove that the general development of Albanian education in Kosovo and other territories is far from being an 'explosive spread' of Albanian education, as was said in the higher forums of the Federation and Serbia some time ago, with the urgent demand for school reform to limit this education."]

It is clear that such voices hide the anti-Albanian hysteria of the great-Serb chauvinists, inherited from the past, which burst out with a new strength after the spring 1981 events and which is spitting out all the national and racist hatred against the Albanians of Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro and their achievements in the field of Albanian school.

SOLIDARITY 'STRIVES AFTER CHAOS AND ARNACHY'

AU181012 Sofia BTA in English 0820 GMT 18 Sep 81

["'No' to Counterrevolution"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 17 Sep (BTA)--"The unfolding of the Polish crisis has entered its decisive phase. There is now only one way out of the present situation--a resolute offensive and a struggle with all means against counterrevolution. Now the conclusion that an offensive is necessary is not enough. A brave and firm offensive what is needed", writes Mr Ivan Petrov in his article on the Polish developments in RABOTNICHESKO DELO today. The article is headlined "'No' to the Attempts at Export of Counterrevolution".

The author analyzes in detail the results of the first stage of the "Solidarity" congress, stressing that some qualitatively new moments have been introduced in the Polish developments. He dwells on the important changes in the character, goals and tasks of the "Solidarity" organization, in its attitude to the Polish United Workers' Party, to the socialist Polish state, to the alliances of Poland and to the socialist community. "Actually counterrevolutionary claims to power and, practically, to liquidation of the existing socialist social system in the country have been made public", the article reads in part.

Recalling that the functionaries of "KOR" [Social Self-Defense Committee] and the Confederation for Independent Poland have had a domineering place and role at the congress with their counterrevolutionary and antisocialist views, the author stresses that the congress, instead of being a socialist workers' trade union congress, have turned into an open anticommunist, antisocialist and anti-Soviet gathering.

The author points out that the character and the position of "Solidarity" in the society have changed--at the congress "Solidarity" have envolved into an opposition political party with claims to political power in that country", writes RABOTNICHESKO DELO, underlining that this is "a very strong evolving to the right". [sentence as received]

It is also stressed that after the congress in Gdansk the "Solidarity" has changed course towards a "course of open confrontation with the Polish United Workers' Party and the socialist Polish state".

Analyzing the discussions and decisions of the "Solidarity" congress, the author points out that they have all been subjected to a major goal--to soil the party and socialism, to deny the enormous achievements of the Polish people along the road to socialism, in strengthening freedom and national independence of Poland, a striving to take power, to undermine and destroy the social structures created by the socialist system, to replace all-national socialist property with group and private ownership.

The article notes further that "Solidarity" has come into being with claims to defend the vital interests of the working class. "It may sound paradoxical but this is the only 'trade union' congress in the world without a single decision on these very interests of the working people," stresses RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

"'Solidarity' strives after chaos and anarchy", the article reads further. "Because in the chaos and anarchy the counterrevolution sees the atmosphere and conditions suitable for the achievement of its goals. [no closing quotemarks]

The author says that the present dramatic situation in Poland can no longer be explained with errors and faults alone committed in the past. "The crisis in the Polish society developed and deepened to reach its present-day dimensions and acuteness primarily as a result of the undermining activity of the international and internal counterrevolution and of the antisocialist forces, which have deeply entrenched themselves in "Solidarity" writes Ivan Petrov.

He draws the conclusion that the counterrevolutionary forces in Poland have undertaken a policy of total confrontation, the degree of the threat for the stability and the security of the Polish socialist state, and also for the interests of the entire socialist community, having reached the limits of danger. "The security and stability of Europe are threatened. Here is meant a degree of danger which cannot be disregarded and under no pretext permitted. This is so, because Poland takes a special and an extraordinarily important place in the socialist community and because she is an exceptionally important link in it. Because the threat for Poland is a threat for the status quo and for peace in Europe. Any further political and economic destabilization of Poland will directly affect the interests of the socialist community, endangering the cause of peace in Europe and in the world," stresses the article.

The author says that no illusions should be nourished by the counterrevolutionary forces in and out of Poland that the present-day political map of Europe can have another Poland, other than the socialist People's Republic of Poland, an inseparable part of the socialist community, of the Warsaw Treaty organization."

"Any other aim or action are adventurist and can lead up to a dangerous catastrophe," writes RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

The author describes the "appeal to the workers of Eastern Europe" as "an attempt at a gross interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries and a rude political provocation," as "an attempt at a direct export of the Polish counterrevolution to the other socialist countries."

The attacks by the class enemy are something natural and normal, writes the author. But when this is being done by people who have usurped the right to speak on behalf of millions of workers in a fraternal socialist country, this cannot be passed over in silence for fear of causing wrath and indignation."

It is said in the article that only people deprived of feeling of (?reality) look for adherents for the hostile and alien aims and actions of "Solidarity" among the ranks of the Bulgarian working class.

"The Bulgarian working class is busy with building not destroying socialism. The leaders of "Solidarity" cannot be their teachers. The Bulgarian working class regards the "appeal" of the Gdansk congress, not as a political act of the Polish working class, but as a provocational political act of the leaders of "Solidarity," more precisely of the figures in "KOR" and the "Confederation in Independent Poland," stresses RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

These figures are described as political provocateurs and instigators--a role patented by the imperialist diversion agencies, the most ferocious opponents of socialism.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO points out that the need of a decisive offensive against the counterrevolution is a necessity which is apparent for all sober-minded patriots of Poland and for her true friends abroad.

"The question stands in this way--either [acting on the] offensive or betraying the interests of socialsim and the people to the counterrevolution. The question now is to head and recruit the forces loyal to the cause of socialism and to raise them to a decisive struggle in practice for the salvation of the People's Republic of Poland, of the socialist acquisitions of the Polish working class, of the Polish people. To these forces we give our complete support, our true communist and workers' solidarity. In the struggle against the raging counterrevolution they are not and they will never be alone," concludes the article in today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

RAZGRAD OKRUG, OTHER WORKERS DENOUNCE SOLIDARITY

AU171828 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Over 5,000 workers in Razgrad Okrug's largest industrial enterprises--the antibiotics plant and the Yanko Stefanov glass and porcelain factory--denounced the provocatory activities of the Solidarity congress at mass rallies held today. They expressed their readiness to support the workers class in Poland in defending their socialist revolution.

A protest meeting was also held at the Metodi Shatarov battery plant in Pazardzhik. Worker Dimitur Pandov read an address to the Polish workers:

[Begin Pandov recording] We, the workers of the Metodi Shatarov plant, are filled with great indignation at the so-called "address" and we believe that working Poland, relying upon its historical experience and upon the deeply sincere feelings of the workers class, will defend the socialist future of the Polish People's Republic. [end recording]

The workers class in Pleven expressed its great concern about the fate of fraternal Poland as well. The workers of the petrochemical plant, the machine building workers of the NIKOLA Vaptsarov plant, young people from the "Stanya" factory and other workers rallied at protest meetings. At a workers rally, Milka Lilova, winner of a gold medal--for working achievements, read an address to the Polish workers:

[Begin Lilova recording] The address adopted at the Solidarity congress contradicts the basic interests of the worldwide proletariat. We denounce it as a gross interference in the domestic affairs of the other states. This address cannot and will not receive the support of any country's workers class whatsoever. The collective of the Pleven tobacco processing plant, which won the first prize in competition for the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, is working with selfless devotion for the overfulfillment of production plants. We have produced goods for export to the Polish People's Republic and we will produce even greater quantities and even better quality goods in the future. The high quality goods produced on schedule for export to your country represent our workers support to you. Comrades, Polish workers, we are convinced that in this difficult and glorious class struggle you will worthily defend the revolutionary virtues of the Polish workers class. [end recording]

TODOR BOZHINOV LEAVES FOR WARSAW 17 SEPTEMBER

AU171538 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Todor Bozhinov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, left for Warsaw today. As chairman of the Bulgarian side of the Bulgarian-Polish Joint Committee on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, he will attend the regular session of this committee. At Sofia Airport, Comrade Bozhinov was seen off by members of the government and by (Miecislaw Karpesziuk), charge d'affaires ad interim at the Polish Embassy in Sofia.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO ON ZHIVKOV BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

PLO's 'Arafat

AU160959 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Sep 81 p 2

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, has received the following message from Yasir 'Arafat, PLO Executive Committee chairman and commander in chief of the Palestinian Revolutionary Armed Forces:

On behalf of the Palestinian people, the PLO Executive Committee members and on my personal behalf, I am happy to cordially greet you and convey our warmest wishes on your 70th birthday.

The great socialist achievements and victories, accomplished by the friendly Bulgarian people in past years, are connected with your wise leadership and personal initiatives. Thus you have won the respect and recognition of the world communist movement, as well as the respect of progressive public opinion and all democratic forces throughout the world. The vital and constructive foreign policy conducted by Bulgaria under your leadership is permeated with a spirit of peace and understanding among nations. This has contributed to strengthening international cooperation and demonstrated your country's role as an effective factor in the framework of the socialist community, contributing to developing the world and European relations.

The Arab people of Palestine, who are struggling against the plans of world imperialism and Zionism aimed at liquidating the Palestinian revolution, inflicting a blow on the Arab national liberation movement and restoring the imperialist dominance over the natural resources of the entire Arab region, highly value the principled policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which supports the struggle of the Arab peoples and the Palestinian revolution against the Camp David agreements, against the negotiations on the so-called Palestinian autonomy, and against the fatal results of the "peaceful" Israeli-Egyptian agreements.

The Arab people of Palestine express their respect and admiration for your wise leadership and simultaneously express their great gratitude for the assistance and aid rendered by Bulgaria, its party, government and people, to the just struggle they are leading under the PLO--their only legal representative--to liberate Palestine and restore their legal rights, including the rights of self-determination, the return to their native land and the establishment of their independent state on their native soil.

We greet you once again and wish you good health and happiness, and wish the Bulgarian people further successes in building the developed socialist society.

Nicaraguan Sandinist Front

AU160957 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Sep 81 p 2

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, has received the following greetings message from the national leadership of the Sandinist Front for the National Liberation of Nicaragua:

Esteemed Comrade Zhivkov, we send you the warm greetings of our vanguard, the Sandinist Front for the National Liberation of Nicaragua, and our people, which is an expression of the high combat spirit and deep fraternal feelings we have for our dear friends and brothers, who are an example for us and who continue to work with steady steps for the implementation in life of the most cherished longings of your people, who have conducted a continuous and difficult struggle to achieving and defending the power of the proletariat.

Our vanguard, the Sandinist Front for National Liberation, and our people, who marked the 20th anniversary of the beginning of the continuous and difficult struggle of the Nicaraguan people, and the anniversary of the victory, the taking of the government, which took place on 19 July 1979, are enthusiastically marking the happy event: On 7 September 1911, in Pravets Village, Sofia County, a prominent party and state leader and a remarkable communist, worker and internationalist was born.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov,

The history of Bulgaria is so closely connected with your efforts, selflessness and love for the people that we want to wish you even greater successes in your further life, so that you can, like Georgi Dimitrov, contribute to the strengthening of the ranks of the party of the workers' class on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism.

These 70 years, full of fruitful activity in implementing party tasks and in the sphere of theory, will serve as an example in training our cadres.

Vietnamese Leaders' Greetings

AU161005 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 81 p 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have received the following telegram from Le Duan, general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, from Truoung Chinh, State Council president of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam [SRV], as well as from Pham Van Dong, SRV premier.

Dear comrades, on behalf of the people of Vietnam, on behalf of the Vietnamese Communist Party, on behalf of the SRV Council of Ministers and on our own behalf, we convey to you and through you to the Bulgarian people, the BCP, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria the most sincere congratulations on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the national holiday of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

In the 1,300-year-old history of the construction and defense of your country, the last 37 years are the most brilliant period in Bulgaria's development. Under the leadership of the glorious BCP and equipped with the revolutionary traditions of manly courage, creative and constructive labor, thanks to the assistance and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the Bulgarian people have achieved exceptionally great successes in the cause of socialist construction. The People's Republic of Bulgaria today has a developed industry, modern agriculture, advanced science and technology, a rich national culture and a continually improving living standard for the population. The international role and prestige of socialist Bulgaria on the international scene are increasing day to day.

Along with its great achievements and with its foreign policy aimed at peace and international cooperation, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is making an important contribution to the consolidation of the socialist system's power in the peoples' common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

The people of Vietnam are greatly rejoicing and proud of the glorious successes achieved by the fraternal Bulgarian people under the leadership of the BCP headed by the esteemed Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and wish the Bulgarian people even greater, new successes in the implementation of the decisions adopted by the 12th BCP Congress, for the successful construction of a developed socialist society in their beautiful motherland.

We note with gratification that the friendly relations and fraternal cooperation between our two parties and peoples, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are continually developing and strengthening day by day. The friendship and cooperation treaty signed between the SRV and the People's Republic of Bulgaria marked a new stage in the development of relations of comprehensive cooperation between our two countries.

On this occasion, we express our sincere and deep gratitude for the support and assistance rendered by the BCP, the Bulgarian state and fraternal Bulgarian people to the revolution in Vietnam, support and assistance inspired by proletarian internationalism, which you continue to render to us.

May the friendly relations, the militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation between our two parties and peoples develop and strengthen along ascending lines, may they grow from day to day.

PCF Central Committee

AU160956 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 81 p 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general, has received the following message from the Central Committee of the French Communist Party:

On your 70th birthday, the Central Committee of the French Communist Party sends you warmest greetings and best wishes for good health and successes in your activity.

Spanish CP's Carrillo

AU160955 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 81 p 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general, has received the following message from Santiago Carrillo, secretary general of the Spanish Communist Party:

Dear Comrade Zhivkov, on behalf of the Spanish Communist Party and on my personal behalf, I would like to convey to you our fraternal and cordial greetings on your 70th birthday.

I wish the BCP, led by you, and the fraternal Bulgarian people new and great successes in building socialism. May your country become stronger and more prosperous with every passing day and an even more active defender of peace and coexistence among nations.

I express again my most sincere and friendly feelings and fraternally greet you.

Laotian Leaders' Greetings

AU160958 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Sep 81 p 2

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, has received the following greetings message from Kaysone Phomvihan, secretary general of the Lao People's Democratic Party Central Committee, and Souphanouvong, president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic:

Dear Comrade Zhivkov, allow us to convey our warm greetings and best wishes on your 70th birthday.

Your life is full of great and fruitful activity. Continuing the cause of Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov, you dedicated your knowledge and energy to the service of the party and the people and to further strengthening the friendship and cooperation with the USSR, with all countries of the socialist community and with the world communist and workers' movement.

Under the wise leadership of the BCP--a truly Marxist-Leninist party led by you--the heroic and industrious Bulgarian people transformed the once underdeveloped Bulgaria into an industrial-agrarian country in which the population's material and cultural level increases annually.

With great happiness we note that the relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation between our parties and countries, to which you made a great contribution, are developing and strengthening on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We wish you good health, energy and new successes in your fruitful activity for the benefit of the Bulgarian people and in the name of socialism and peace.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO CITES GREETINGS ON NATIONAL DAY

Castro's Greetings

AU161002 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 81 p 4

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary and State Council chairman, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have received the following message from Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba:

Dear Comrades, on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of liberation day, I would like to convey to the people, the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria warmest fraternal greetings on behalf of the people, the Central Committee of the Cuban Cummunist Party and the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

The celebration of your national holiday this year obtains a special significance because of the celebration of the 1,300th anniversay of the Bulgarian state.

I take this opportunity to express our deepest feelings of fraternal friendship expressed in the wonderful relations which began 21 years ago, and wish you, dear comrades, new successes in your activity as leaders of the party and the government, as well as good health and personal happiness.

Mozambique's Machel

AU161004 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Sep 81 p 7

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, has received the following greetings message from Samora Machel, Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] chairman and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique:

On behalf of the people, the Frelimo Party, the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique and on my personal behalf, I send warmest and fraternal greetings to you, the Bulgarian people, the BCP and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on 9 September--the day of freedom.

The people of Mozambique rejoice at the numerous successes in the building of the developed socialist society achieved by the Bulgarian people under the competent leadership of the BCP, its wise and tireless leader.

The great prestige which your country enjoys among the peace-loving nations is a result of its role in searching for just and correct solutions of the problems and achieving secure and lasting peace, which becomes ever more necessary in this period when imperialism shows increased activity.

With great happiness and enthusiasm, the people of Mozambique are marking 9 September, as well as the 1,300th anniversary of Bulgaria and the 90th anniversary of the glorious BCP.

The people of Mozambique know and value the manifestations of combat solidarity and internationalism, which are evidence of the commitment of the Bulgarian people to the just struggle of the oppressed peoples to expand and strengthen the world socialist community.

Conveying to you wishes for a long life and good health, I take this opportunity to assure you once again that the friendly relations and cooperation between our parties, peoples and governments will further strengthen in our mutual interest.

Afghan Leaders' Greetings

AU161001 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Sep 81 p 7

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have received the following greetings message from Babrak Karmal, secretary general of the Afghan People's Democratic Party and chairman of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and So[illegible]an Ali Keshtmand, premier of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Afghan People's Democratic Party [PDPA] the Revolutionary Council, the government and the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and on our personal behalf, it is a great pleasure to convey to you, dear comrades, the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers, and the entire Bulgarian people warmest and cordial greetings on the 37th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

The people of Afghanistan are completely confident that the fraternal Bulgarian people, led by the BCP, will march toward further progress, social happiness and prosperity. We are completely confident that the friendly and fraternal relations and comprehensive cooperation in the international arena, which so deeply and sincerely connect our parties and peoples, will further strengthen and develop for the benefit of our countries and peoples as well as in the interest of world peace and security.

On behalf of the PDPA, the government and the Afghan people, we take this opportunity to confirm again our firm solidarity with the BCP, the Bulgarian Government and noble people. Please accept our deep and sincere wishes for good health and success as well as for the prosperity, happiness and further progress of the fraternal Bulgarian people.

Nicaraguan Greetings

AU161003 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Sep 81 p 7

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary and State Council chairman, has received the following greetings message from the national leadership of the Sandinist Front for National Liberation:

Esteemed Comrade Todor Zhivkov,

On behalf of the national leadership of the Sandinist Front for National Liberation of Nicaragua, its members and our people, we send our fraternal greetings to the heroic Bulgarian people and its vanguard--the BCP--on the 37th anniversary of the revolution's victory.

As the great hero Georgi Dimitrov said on 9 September 1944, the political power in Bulgaria was taken from the hands of the monarchic-fascist clique and transferred to the people. This date marks the beginning of the construction of the new society.

Our vanguard and the people of Sandino regard this remarkable anniversary as their own and view the victory of the Bulgarian revolution as a victory against exploitation and misery.

The great lessons bequeathed to us by the struggle against fascism pointed the way for our people, who are always ready to defend their independence, as the Bulgarian people did under the leadership of its vanguard and Georgi Dimitrov.

On the occasion of your anniversary, we wish that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the Bulgarian people and the government and the Sandinist Front for the National Liberation of the Nicaraguan People will continue to strengthen.

Greetings from Ethiopia

AU161000 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Sep 81 p 7

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council Chairman, has received the following greetings message from Haile Mengistu Mariam, chairman of the Ethiopian Provisionary Military Administrative Council and chairman of the Committee on Organizing the Party of the Ethiopian Working People:

On behalf of the Provisional Military Council, the Government and the people of socialist Ethiopia, and on my personal behalf, I would like to most warmly greet you and, through you, the BCP, the government and the fraternal Bulgarian people on the 37th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation.

I take this opportunity to note the great achievements of the Bulgarian people in their tireless struggle to build socialism and make their contribution to strengthening the cause of national liberation, peace, justice, equality and progress.

Dear Comrade Zhivkov, please accept my best wishes for personal health and for the prosperity and progress of the Bulgarian people.

INTERIOR MINISTER MARKS MILITIA ANNIVERSARY

AU151844 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Dimitur Stoyanov, minister of internal affairs: "Loyal Guard of People's Achievements"]

[Excerpts] Already during the first days after the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, the BCP created the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They were among the first armed units of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the units of this organization, which according to Lenin "was called upon to express the wisdom and will of the the people's overwhelming majority."

The organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs became the loyal guard of the greatest achievement in the entire centuries-long history of Bulgaria. Assessing the exceptional importance of this sector, the BCP Central Committee entrusted revolutionary figures with extensive experience, preparation and consistent Marxism, Leninism with the leadership of these organs.

We are proud of the fact that the first staff of the people's militia in Sofia was formed and worked under the direct leadership of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Only 20 days after the 9 September 1944 victory, RABOTNICHESKO DELO carried his article "Our People's Militia." It became a programmatic document in which the essence, place and functions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are analyzed with political vision. Here are the roots of one of the most basic principles in the activity of our organs, which is a holy law for us today: "The people's militia serves the people. The people and the militia are one and must be one."

The organs of state security are fighting ever more skillfully and with growing professional excellence against the attempts of imperialism and its special services to divert the People's Republic of Bulgaria from the socialist way of development, to deny the party's leading role, to destroy the political, social, philosophical and moral foundations of our social system, and to undermine our friendship and cooperation with the USSR. They decisively oppose the enemy's attempts to conduct intelligence and subversive activity, to develop total ideological diversion and to sow the poisoned seeds of anti-Sovietism, chauvinism and nationalism.

Profoundly analyzing the development and trends of international life, the 12th BCP and 26th CPSU Congresses stressed that because of the imperialist forces, the present international situation is extremely complex, tense and dangerous. The most reactionary part of the imperialist forces, especially in the United States, are ever more overtly and brutally striving to impose their course of confrontation and anti-Sovietism, to undermine detente and to intensify the arms race. The attempts to stop the development of social processes in the national liberation movements are becoming ever more brutal. The imperialist states' intelligence organs are being provided with great means and possibilities. Many institutes, publishing houses and radio stations are working for them. All kinds of "scientific theories" aimed at eroding the social consciousness and undermining the unity of the socialist countries are being developed. All this requires the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and our entire people to demonstrate unrelenting vigilence against the enemies of socialism and to fight for timely unmasking and preventing their hostile activity.

On the combat holiday of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, when we draw up the balance sheet of the past we again express our warm gratitude to Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, for strengthening and expanding the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. With deep recognition and sincere respect, we greet the creator and strategist of the BCP April line, the continuer of the Blagoev-Dimitrov cause, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, on his remarkable 70th birthday. On this day we once again, and with even greater responsibility, ponder the great confidence expressed from the rostrum of the 12th BCP Congress: "The organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will further selflessly, unreservedly and boldly serve the people, the socialist motherland and the communist ideal."

Today and tomorrow, the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will loyally and selflessly serve the party and people, defend the country's security, strengthen the public order, and be an active and politically mature builder of socialist Bulgaria.

BRIEFS

TRADE WITH SOVIET UNION--In Moscow today, the Bulgarian foreign trade enterprise Elektroimpex and the Soviet Tekhnoimport signed an agreement on importing color TV sets. The document envisages the Soviet Union supplying Bolgaria with a total of 30,000 color tv sets by the end of this year. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 10 Sep 81 AU]

PZPR STATEMENT SUPPORTED; 'APPEAL' SCORED

Sojka: Method 'Boomeranged'

LD172128 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Permanent Warsaw correspondent Frantisek Sojka commentary on PZPR Politburo statement issued 16 September]

[Text] The PZPR Politburo statement issued yesterday says clearly that the political and economic situation in the country is continuously deteriorating and that the living conditions of working people are becoming harder and harder. Solidarity has disappointed the hopes which some people put in it and has embarked on an adventurous policy which threatens to turn into bloodshed.

The text of the declaration with which the Polish public has been acquainted shows that the situation has reached the point where the further fate of the country should be decided: whether the country will continue to be tossed by unrest and confrontation or whether the process of consolidation will finally start the process for which millions of Polish working people are waiting with increasing impatience, including the rank-and-file members of Solidarity. Perhaps we could speak about irony, as a huge tide of sympathy with Solidarity began even before the first round of the Gdansk congress and culminated right after its conclusions. The shock method which the leaders of Solidarity tried to employ has finally boomeranged.

The counterrevolutionary association KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and the Confederation for an Independent Poland gave an antisocialist undertone to the congress, as directed by their Western masters, and left no doubt in anyone about their aims and intentions: total struggle against the socialist system in Poland which would culminate in their taking over power. It also should not be forgotten that they have decided to spread their attack against other countries of the socialist community. And if anybody still thinks that this is only a case of political error or of naivete, such views ought to be firmly rejected. All approved decisions and resolutions, including the so-called message to the working people of East Europe, show only one thing: a huge morbid hatred of everything socialist and, in spite of all nationalist slogans on Poland and the Polish national character, also hatred of its own working people.

Solidarity Statement Scored

LD180904 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 18 Sep 81

[Text] Janusz Onyszkiewicz, spokesman of the Presidium of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity, speaking on behalf of his union, criticized the statement of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo on the critical situation in the country. Here is Frantisek Sojka from Warsaw: Janusz Onyszkiewicz accused the Politburo statement of inadequate realism and he called on the members of Solidarity to be united. If we overlook that Solidarity is once again criticizing the PZPR--which is its favorite and normal practice--we cannot fail to be shocked by the fact that this crude attack was launched at a time when the entire country is on the brink of a dangerous confrontation, prepared by counterrevolutionary forces, a confrontation with far-reaching consequences against which the Politburo issued an urgent warning.

The leaders of Solidarity quite clearly were frightened not only by the firm stand of the PZPR leadership but also by the fact that favorable response is coming from individuals and entire work teams and party groups in all parts of Poland expressing satisfaction at the position of the party to the disruptive and extremist activities of Solidarity. The arrogant stance adopted by its leaders is no longer a surprise. It merely revealed with fresh urgency the irreconcilable contradictions between the policy of Solidarity leaders and the interests of the Polish working people.

Workers Condemn 'Appeal'

LD172006 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] The so-called message to the nations of East Europe, approved by the Gdansk congress of Walesa's trade unions, was condemned today by the working people of the Prague enterprise CKD Compressors. In their letter to the Central Council of Trade Unions they emphasized that such messages are nothing else but arrogant interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia and open attacks against everything our working class, agricultural workers and intelligentsia have built in the years of socialist construction. The workers, technicians and graduate engineers of the enterprise CKD Tatra Smichov expressed similar views at protest rallies today.

Support for Statement

LD172100 Prague CTK in English 1949 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Sep (CTK)--The chief council of Poles who were formerly Soviet Army soldiers, affiliated to the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, adopted a resolution today expressing concern about the deteriorating sociopolitical situation in Poland. The resolution said that a group of political adventurers among the leaders of the Solidarity trade union imposed on its congress a line of political opposition and struggle against the socialist system in Poland, which has been for many years pressed for by the leaders of the Confederation for an Independent Poland. The resolution expressed support for the latest statement of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party and said that members of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy are resolved to defend socialist Poland in any situation and by every means.

The decision of the Solidarity congress, and particularly the "message to the nations of Eastern Europe", were today rejected by the leadership of the trade union of employees of the textile, clothing and leather industries in Lodz. "We feel obliged to protest on behalf of our union members and point out the political harmfulness of the 'message' which, running counter to the concluded agreements, violates the generally recognized principles of alliance and the foreign policy of Poland," the statement said.

People's Protest of 'Appeal'

LD180852 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 18 Sep 81

[From the press review]

[Text] The protests of the Czechoslovak working people against the so-called message to the peoples of Eastern Europe, which was issued by the congress of Walesa's trade unions in Gdansk are summed up by Stanislav Oborsky in the column, "On a Topical Theme." He says that according to this provocative pamphlet we are expected to abandon all the achievements for which tens of thousands of communists and patriots have laid down their lives in the struggle against Hitlerism, we are expected to throw overboard all that we won in February 1948, we are expected to get rid of our democratic and life security, we are expected to surrender to some kind of new model of social order which, of course, reeks of captalism even from afar.

The authors of the so-called message to the people of Eastern Europe would like to change the class character of the trade unions in the socialist states; they would like the trade unions in our countries, following the example of Walesa's trade unions, to wage a struggle for power against the party and the government [words indistinct]

But they would do well to note, Stanislaw Oborsky goes on to say, the kind of people to whom they are speaking. Our worker has from time immemorial shown respect for his skills, his hands; he respects common sense, education and talent. In our country work has always been highly respected. Anyone who had skills, who achieved something enjoyed esteem among his fellow citizens, and parasites always met with contempt in our country. This holds good today as well when in Socialist Czechoslovakia everything is being decided by the working people themselves. We do not have, nor do we seek a source of good life other than that created by honest work. We do not intend to live on credit. We have no intention of putting on airs and graces in return for money lent at usurers' interest rates.

Socialism has given us the possibility of making full use of the strength of our hands, the strength of our reason; thus our country is what we have made it, one of the most advanced in the world, Stanislav Oborsky stresses in RUDE PRAVO and concludes his column by recalling the statement of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo which characterized the antisocialist appeal by Walesa's trade unions as a monstrosity. Because of this monstrosity, our people do not take the appeal seriously. They are protesting against it because it is an appeal which insults every honest citizen of a socialist country.

Solidarity's 'Program Line'

AU171432 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Sep 81 p 6

[Pavol Minarik article: "What 'Solidarity's' Program Line Implies: Efforts To Export Chaos"]

[Text] Some time ago the young receptionist--perhaps 25 years old or so--at Warsaw's Forum Hotel made me understand, even though inadvertently, what "Solidarity's" program line means in essence. I admit that I failed to pay particular attention to his words at the time. Today, now that the results of the first round of "Solidarity's" congress, which was held in the Gdansk Oliwia Hall last week, are well known, I cannot but recall our short conversation. The young man, who had grown up in socialist Poland, compared his country with a building whose walls are met and tainted throughout, with a house not worth repairing but which must be simply torn down for a new one to be erected. It would be more than naive to maintain that there is nothing wrong in Poland, that there are no mistakes and shortcomings or that there is nothing that needs repairs. But to openly demand that the results of more than 30 years of work done on a socialist basis should be eliminated--I do not think that this should be done. I objected to this, arguing among other things that it is easy to pull things down, much easier than building new things, than getting down to work.

Hence "Solidarity's" strategy is now clear after the congress debate: to eliminate socialism in Poland by its roots. But that receptionist in the Forum Hotel was no clairvoyant, being able even at that time to formulate distinctly what the "Solidarity" congress proclaimed as its objectives. Since the emergence of the "independent" Polish trade union "Solidarity," its leaders have prepared a majority of young, politically inexperienced and immature people to adopt and particularly to proclaim in public such and similar theses.

At the same time they are not satisfied with the fact that they are disorienting their own Polish working people with demagogic slogans and that a political and economic chaos has already been reigning in Poland for some time. They have now also displayed interest in a similar development in other socialist countries. The so-called appeal to the peoples of Eastern Europe, adopted at the "Solidarity" congress, is of an explicitly provocative nature and it would be difficult to find a similar example of interference by any trade union in the internal affairs of other countries, moreover when friendly countries are involved. The efforts to impose their political resolutions on other countries cannot be assessed otherwise but as a violation of international, legal and moral norms.

In substance the "appeal" calls for a change in the social and economic structures in other socialist countries. It is true that the working people in the socialist countries maintain their class and ideological ties with the Polish working people but at the same time they do not hide their negative attitude to the "Solidarity" leadership's actions. There are serious reasons for such an attitude to "Solidarity." One of these is the propaganda that wrecks confidence in Poland and which at the same time is directed against the socialist countries and which particularly attacks the Soviet Union.

Recently there were talks between representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic and the leaders of "Solidarity" about the principles of the foreign policy of People's Poland. At these talks "Solidarity" gave the assurance that it will adhere to these principles contained in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, principles to which it was bound by its own statutes. But shortly afterwards the authors of the"appeal" without so much as a wink of an eye violated the main principles of foreign policy of the Polish People's Republic and the state interests of Poland. They made it known in this appeal that the basic interests of the Polish people and state in the present world are alien to them and that they do not want to understand the mutual relationship between the forces and obligations which are guaranteeing stability in Europe and its peaceful future. At the same time they evinced a lack of understanding, combined with arrogance, features that may have dangerous consequences. They have thus become conscious tools of the forces of confrontation.

All that remains now is to state that the letter and spirit of the "appeal" disagree with many declarations of the "Solidarity" leaders. They are at complete variance with their announcements about respecting the incontestable right of the government to form and implement international policy on the basis of socialist principles, including the consolidation of the ties of alliance in the sphere of the most vital interests of Poland.

This "message" which contains an appeal to struggle against the socialist system has caused alarm and protests in Poland and among the broad public in the socialist countries. The Executive Committee of the PZPR Warsaw Committee released a statement via PAP in which it emphatically opposed the"Solidarity" line and the "message." "It is necessary on the part of the socialist fatherland for the preservation of peace and order in the country to resolutely reject a policy behind which stand counterrevolution and anarchy," it is pointed out in the statement in part. The fate of Poland likewise worries the working people in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and in our country and in other socialist countries. At work conferences such as, for example, at the Moscow Zil automobile plant, the working people express their indignation at the"appeal" approved by the congress and state their conviction that this appeal contains nothing but hatred of socialism. It is stressed in letters addressed at such meetings to the Polish workers, in part: that the "authors of the 'appeal' are calling on us to give up ourselves, the results of our work, of our struggle and to betray the millions of those who died in the struggles against imperialism, to betray our communist future. Such provocations have always elicited the wrath and protest of the Soviet people."

It is surprising that the authors of the "appeal" are trying to teach the workers class in the surrounding socialist countries how it should further live and work. It is amazing that the Polish workers permit the enemies of socialism to disguise themselves behind words such as "trade unions," "working people" and "the people's interests." How was it possible that brazen adventurers and provocateurs penetrated the workers and are acting on their behalf? After all, these people are pushing Poland on to the road of capitalism and want to impose on the workers class the yoke of exploitation. The neighbors as well as honest Poles are alarmed by the fact that the recent Gdansk "Solidarity" congress denied the leading role of the PZPR in society, that it insulted the people's power, the Polish communists and patriots who are striving to find a way out of the crisis. This is why they frankly and honestly, as befitting brothers, comrades and friends, are pointing with good reason to the demagogues who are hampering work, spreading unrest and distrust of the people's power in the hope that the Polish comrades will muster the strength, courage and determination to defend the socialist gains and to halt the class enemy.

TREATY, COMMUNIQUE ON HUSAK'S VISIT TO PDRY

Friendship Treaty

AU161357 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Sep 81 p 1

[Treaty of friendship and cooperation between the CSSR and PDRY, signed in Aden on 14 September]

[Text] The CSSR and the PDRY, valuing the significance of broadening and deepening the relations of friendship and all-round cooperation in agreement with the vital interests of the people of both countries and in the interest of consolidating peace and security.

Determined to continue to contribute to consolidating the unity and cooperation of all forces struggling for peace and national independence, for democracy and social progress,

Expressing their support for the struggle against imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism, neocolonialism, Zionism and racism in all their forms and manifestations,

Affirming their loyalty to the aims and principles of the UN Charter, particularly to the principles of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference in internal affairs,

Attaching great importance to cooperation among both countries, aimed at achieving a durable and just peace in the Middle East, and

Emphasizing the importance of strengthening and developing fruitful cooperation among the two countries

Have decided to conclude this treaty and have agreed on the following:

Article 1

The high contracting parties solemnly declare their determination to consolidate the firm friendship among the two countries, to lastingly develop the mutual relations in the political sphere as well as the all-round cooperation on the basis of equality of rights, respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference in internal affairs.

Article 2

The high contracting parties will continue to develop mutual cooperation with the purpose of consolidating and further deepening the social and economic gains in both countries and will respect the sovereignty of each country over all its natural resources.

Article 3

The high contracting parties will strive to further develop bilaterally advantageous economic and scientific-technical cooperation. They will develop this cooperation in individual fields of the national economy, in expanding mutual trade while consistently respecting the principles of equality and mutual advantage.

Article 4

The high contracting parties will actively support the mutual development of contacts and exchange of experiences in the fields of science and culture, education, health services, press, radio, television, cinematography, sports and tourism as well as in other fields.

Article 5

The high contracting parties will also promote the expansion of contacts between the state organs and social organizations as well as direct contacts between cultural and scientific organizations for the purpose of coming to know the life, work, experiences and achievements of the peoples of the two countries.

Article 6

The CSSR values the policy of nonalignment pursued by the PDRY, which constitutes an important contribution to consolidating international cooperation and peaceful coexistence.

The PDRY values the peaceful foreign policy pursued by the CSSR aimed at strengthening friendship and cooperation with all countries and nations.

Article 7

In their foreign policy, the high contracting parties will do all they can to preserve international peace and security and to consolidate and develop the process of detente, to ban strategic weapons, to halt the arms race and to achieve a general and complete disarmament agreement. They will strive for a consistent application of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states with different social systems and will contribute to the just struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence, sovereignty and social progress. They will also support the efforts of the young independent states which have freed themselves from colonial dependence, the efforts for a democratization of the present system of economic relations as well as the struggle to fully respect the sovereignty of these states over their natural resources.

Article 8

The high contracting parties will continue to active struggle against the aggressive policy of world imperialism and hegemonism, for the final elimination of colonialism, Zionism and racism in all their forms and manifestations.

Article 9

The high contracting parties will do their best to contribute to a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis and to achieve a just and lasting peace in that region. The two sides will consult each other on and coordinate their actions in the interest of finding a comprehensive solution and implementing this solution.

Article 10

The high contracting parties will consult one another on all important international problems which directly affect the interests of the two sides. In the event of the emergence of situations threatening or violating world peace, the two parties will immediately establish contact in order to coordinate their positions in the interest of eliminating the threat to or violation of peace.

Article 11

The high contracting parties solemnly declare that they will not enter into military or other alliances and that they will not join any grouping of states or any military actions or measures aimed against the other high contracting party.

Article 12

The high contracting parties declare that this treaty does not affect their international rights and obligations and that it is not directed against any third country. Both parties pledge at the same time that in the future they will not be parties to any international documents which would be at variance with this treaty.

Article 13

All problems that may emerge in connection with the interpretation or implementation of any provision of this treaty will be solved in the spirit of friendship, mutual respect and understanding by direct talks between the two high contracting parties.

Article 14

This treaty is subject to ratification and will become effective as of the date of exchange of the ratification documents which will take place as soon as possible in Prague.

Article 15

This treaty is being negotiated for a period of 20 years, and its validity will always be automatically extended by an additional 5 years unless one of the contracting parties terminates it within 12 months of expiration.

Given in Aden on 14 September 1981 in two originals, one each in the Czech and Arabic languages, both versions being equally valid.

For the CSSR Gustav Husak For the PDRY 'Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani

CSSR-Yemeni Communique

AU161430 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Sep 81 pp 1, 2

[Joint CSSR-PDRY communique on the 13-14 September visit of a Czechoslovak party and government delegation to the PDRY]

[Text] Heading a CSSR party and state delegation, Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, paid an official friendly visit to the PDRY from 13 to 14 September 1981 at the invitation of 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party [YSP], chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council and of the Council of Ministers of the PDRY.

In the course of his visit to the PDRY, Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, laid a wreath at the memorial to martyrs, visited the most important national economic projects, cultural and historical monuments, and acquainted himself with the PDRY's successes in the economic, social and cultural spheres.

The delegation was warmly welcomed in all the places it visited, which reflects the depth of the friendship and revolutionary solidarity uniting the nations of the two befriended countries.

The official talks conducted by Comrades Gustav Husak and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad were held in the spirit of friendship, mutual trust and understanding, and there was a fruitful exchange of views on the development of CSSR-PDRY relations and on the current international issues of interest to both sides.

The talks were attended for the Czechoslovak side by:

Rudolf Rohlicek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR deputy premier; Bohuslav Chnoupek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR minister of foreign affairs; Bohumil Urban, CSSR minister of foreign trade; Miloslav Blahnik, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and chief of general staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army; Vratislav Vajnar, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and head of the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary's Secretariat; and Ivan Voles, CSSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the PDRY. For the Yemeni side [the talks were attended] by: Brig Gen 'Ali Ahmad Nasir Antar, Politburo member of the YSP Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of local government; Salim Salih Muhammad, member of the YSP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs; ('Ali Asad Muthana), member of the YSP Central Committee and head of the YSP Central Committee general secretary's Secretariat; (Abdal Kadir Dazamal), candidate member of the YSP Central Committee and minister of industry, oil and mineral resources; Ahmad 'Ubayd al-Fadli, minister of trade and supply; (Jasin Said Numan), deputy minister of planning; Col (Abdalah Ali Alajva), first deputy minister of defense and chief of general staff of the PDRY armed forces; Ahmad Ibrahim al-Akbari, PDRY ambassador to the CSSR; and (Abdal Kasim Nagi), deputy chief of the Foreign Ministry's department for East European countries.

During the talks, the two sides informed one another about the situation in their countries.

Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad informed Comrade Gustav Husak about the development of the revolutionary process in the PDRY. He acquainted him with the results of the extraordinary YSP congress and with the resolutions and recommendations adopted at the congress in the interest of strengthening the revolutionary course in the PDRY on the path of common progress and strengthening the leading role of the party in the ranks of the working people and popular masses, as well as in the country's political, economic and social life.

Comrade Gustav Husak highly valued the significant successes which the PDRY has achieved in the political, economic and social spheres. He expressed the CSSR's support for the PDRY in its struggle against all intrigues of imperialist and reactionary forces which are trying to prevent its progressive development. He also expressed support for the militant determination of the people of the PDRY to continue under the YSP's leadership the struggle for the completion of economic and social changes, and thus fulfill the strategic objectives of the Yemeni revolution. He expressed his country's support for the tenacious efforts exerted by the PDRY to bring about Yemeni unity on peaceful and democratic foundations.

Comrade Gustav Husak acquainted Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad with the extensive social activity and initiative with which the Czechoslovak people adopted and implement the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, and with the main trends of the CSSR political, economic and social development in the upcoming period. Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad highly valued the efforts exerted by the Czechoslovak people under the CPCZ's leadership in building an advanced socialist society in Czechoslovakia.

It was stated with satisfaction that between the CSSR and the PDRY there exist relations of friendship and cooperation, which have been developing successfully, particularly lately. The two sides agreed that strengthening and deepening cooperation between the CSSR and the PDRY are of particular importance for the further development of mutual relations. Also the possibilities for the further expansion of relations and mutual cooperation in all spheres, especially between the representative bodies of the two states, social organizations and in the sphere of educational and cultural relations were discussed.

The two sides assessed as positive the successes achieved in the past years in developing economic cooperation and the trade exchange. In this connection they valued the constructive character of the work of the Mixed Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation. At the same time they declared that the steady development of the CSSR and the PDRY creates new opportunities for the further expansion of economic cooperation between the two countries.

As an expression of the two sides' wishes to develop relations of firm cooperation between the people of the two befriended countries, Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, general secretary of the YSP Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council and of the Council of Ministers of the PDRY, signed a treaty on friendship and cooperation between the CSSR and the PDRY. They expressed their conviction that the treaty will become a firm foundation on which one will be able to build in the further development of close political cooperation and friendly relations between the people of the two countries in their common endeavor for peace, relaxation of international tension and social progress, and in their participation in strengthening anti-imperialist solidarity.

During the visit the following agreements and protocols were also signed: a protocol on cooperation between the CPCZ and the YSP for the 1982-83 period; an intergovernmental agreement between the CSSR and the PDRY on the abolition of the mandatory visas for the members of the contracting states making official journeys; a protocol on the exchange of goods between the CSSR and the PDRY for the 1982-84 period; and a protocol of cooperation between the CSSR Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the PDRY Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the 1982-83 period.

During an exchange of views on the current international situation, the two sides noted with satisfaction a unanimity of views on all international issues and agreed that the policy of American imperialism and reactionary forces is to blame for the current deterioration of the international situation.

They shared the view that there is no sensible alternative to the policy of international detente and that they will continue to fully support the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. They also expressed their determination to continue the struggle to strengthen and deepen the process of the relaxation of tension, halt the arms race and adopt effective measures for disarmament and for resolving disputes through negotiations.

The two sides stressed the great importance of transforming the region of the Arab Gulf and peninsula into a zone of peace and condemned the growing U.S. attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the states in the region and force them to renounce their inalienable right to manage their natural wealth. They also condemned the American policy of establishing and using bases in Egypt, Oman, Somalia, Kenya and on Diego Garcia. The Czechoslovak side valued 'Ali Nasir Muhammad's initiative for convening a summit conference of the states of the Arab Gulf and peninsula and the Horn of Africa and other interested parties.

The two sides expressed profound concern over the continuing war conflict between Iraq and Iran and expressed their support for peace negotiations between the two sides. A peaceful solution of the conflict corresponds to the interests of the people of the two countries and would thwart the attempts of imperialist and reactionary forces to widen the hotbeds of tension in this sensitive region with a view to gaining control over its resources and further threatening the security and stability of the region.

The CSSR and the PDRY expressed their full support for the proposals submitted by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev on transforming the Indian Ocean and the Gulf into a zone of security and peace.

They also expressed the wish that the Red Sea region become a zone of peace devoid of imperialist interference in its internal affairs. The two sides reaffirmed their solidarity with the Ethiopian revolution and expressed appreciation for the efforts of the Ethiopian revolutionary leadership to defend Ethiopia's national independence and territorial integrity.

The Yemeni side informed the Czechoslovak side about the results of the summit in Aden of the PDRY, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah and socialist Ethiopia, and stressed that the summit was an important contribution for nations and revolutionary forces of the region, fighting against imperialist goals and aggressive plans and for the strengthening of peace, stability and state sovereignty of the nations of the region.

The two sides discussed the situation in the Middle East and expressed their profound concern over the developments in that region, which constitute a focus of great danger, threatening security, peace and stability in the world, and called for an immediate and complete Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. They expressed their support for the PLO's full participation as an equal partner in all negotiations. The two sides agreed that a just and comprehensive solution cannot be achieved without the full implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish their own independent state. They also expressed great concern over the escalation and spreading of Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese people and declared that they will support the Lebanese people and Lebanese patriotic movement in their heroic struggle for beating back Zionist and imperialist aggression.

The two sides expressed appreciation of the firm stance of the Arab nations and states in their struggle to liberate their territories and against imperialist-Zionist conspiracies, and emphasized the necessity of continuing to strengthen the action unity among the Arab states. In this connection they valued the importance of the Steadfastness Front and support in the struggle against the policy of separate and capitulationist solutions of the Middle East crisis.

The two sides also affirmed the necessity of cooperation and coordination between the Arab states and the states of the socialist community and of creating close relations between them, as well as with progressive forces and the national liberation movement, which support the just Arab cause against the Zionist-imperialist conspiracy against the Arab nations.

The Czechoslovak side highly valued the PDRY's principled stance on the solution of the Middle East problems and its active share in strengthening the Arab states' action unity. The Yemeni side expressed thanks to the people of the CSSR and other countries of the socialist community for their full support extended to the Arab nations and their just cause.

In assessing the situation in Europe, the two sides agreed that, above all, the deployment of the new American medium-range missiles in West European countries constitutes an extraordinary danger for maintaining peace in Europe and in the world, and expressed themselves in favor of resolving this important question through negotiations. They vehemently condemned the decision of the U.S. government to begin manufacturing neutron weapons as a new mass destruction instrument. They agreed that the consequence of this step can only be the unleashing of another round of feverish armament, deterioration of the complicated international situation and an increased danger of nuclear conflict. The two sides favored a speedy conclusion of a treaty banning the production, stockpiling, development and use of nuclear neutron weapons.

The two sides pointed out the growing danger of utilizing the space for military purposes. Therefore they expressed their resolute support for the new Soviet proposal to conclude a treaty banning the stationing of any type of weapon in space.

The two sides noted the necessity of achieving concrete and positive results at the Madrid meeting of representatives of states participating in the Helsinki conference, which could markedly contribute to the strengthening of the detente process and the all-round peace cooperation of the European states. They regard it as extraordinarily important that the Madrid meeting adopts a decision on convening a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe.

The PDRY valued the endeavor of the CSSR and the other socialist countries for progress in the policy of detente, disarmament, peace and cooperation and their international support for the struggle of nations against colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism.

The two sides assessed further the current situation in southern Africa and expressed their solidarity with and support for the just struggle of the people of Namibia under SWAPO's leadership, which is the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia. They reaffirmed their well-known positions demanding an immediate and complete liquidation of colonialism, racism and apartheid in southern Africa. They resolutely condemn the aggressive actions of the South African regime against the People's Republic of Angola and other African front states.

The CSSR and the PDRY also expressed their full support for the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its just struggle against imperialist interference, for independence, national sovereignty and for the defense of the revolutionary accomplishments of the Afghan people. The two sides support the concrete and realistic proposals of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for normalizing relations with the neighboring countries through negotiations.

In discussing the situation in Southeast Asia, the two sides rejected the conference on the so-called Kampuchean question and its results, and condemned all forms of interference by imperialist and hegemonist forces in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean people. They supported the efforts of these nations aimed at ensuring peace in this region and at establishing relations of good neighborliness and cooperation.

The two sides also expressed support for the struggle of the nations of Latin America for achieving full independence and national sovereignty and sharply condemned all imperialist interference in the internal affairs of the countries in this region.

The two sides stressed the importance of further strengthening the alliance between the forces of world socialism and national liberation movements in their common struggle for world peace and security, for the freedom of nations and their independence, for liberating their territories from foreign occupation, against imperialism, neocolonialism and racist oppression.

The two sides declare that in this struggle they will see to the strengthening and development of solidarity among the countries of the socialist community, the nonaligned and developing countries and all progressive countries in the world. They noted the big role played by the Nonaligned Movement in the current international policy.

The two side highly valued the results of the party and state visit and expressed the conviction that it will contribute to the further development and strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the CSSR and the PDRY.

Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, cordially thanked Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, general secretary of the YSP Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council and of the Council of Ministers of the PDRY, and all the befriended Yemeni people for the hospitality and warm reception extended to him during the visit. Comrade Gustav Husak invited Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad to pay an official friendly visit to the CSSR. The invitation was received with thanks. The date of the visit will be set later.

RUDE PRAVO PRAISES TREATIES WITH ETHIOPIA, PDRY

LD161106 Prague CTK in English 0809 GMT 16 Sep 81

[Text] Prague, 16 Sep (CETEKA)--The visits of Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and President Gustav Husak to the Libyan Jamahiriyah and of the Czechoslovak party and state delegation to Ethiopia and Democratic Yemen significantly helped strengthen the ties of cooperation and solidarity on an anti-imperialist basis, RUDE PRAVO commented today.

This fact is all the more important that the visited countries are strongly involved in anti-imperialist struggle and clearly threatened by imperialist aggressiveness. The common views on the international situation, together with the common awareness of the necessity of countering the imperialist intrigues against peace, security and the independence of nations were therefore quite natural. The three joint communiques adopted give convincing evidence of this fact.

The paper stressed the international importance of the friendship and cooperation treaties signed with Ethiopia and Democratic Yemen during the visit since one of their principal points embodied in the preambles is unity of all revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces, close cooperation between world socialism and the national liberation movement in the struggle for peace and social progress.

Czechoslovakia "deeply welcomes and sympathizes with" the revolutionary transformations of the social and economic realities in the three countries. It realizes that this development "is part of the gigantic revolutionary transformation of the world, the transition from capitalism to socialism on the world scale. It is for us, just as for the peoples and leaderships of the Libyan Jamahiriyah, Ethiopia and Democratic Yemen an objective basis for the further strengthening of the alliance of world socialism with the national liberation movement, of the anti-imperialist solidarity of all revolutionary and progressive forces," the paper wrote.

HAIG'S NEUTRON BOMB 'ADVOCACY' IN FRG VIEWED

AU171209 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Sep 81 p 7

[KOV-signed article: "The End of the U.S. Secretary of State's Visit in the FRG; N-Bomb Advocate"]

[Text] Bonn, 14 Sep--After 2 days of talks wtih Chancellor Schmidt and his depty, Genscher, General Haig, U.S. secretary of state, left the FRG on Monday, after visiting Yugoslavia and West Berlin. At a press conference held on Monday, Haig openly admitted that allegedly, the United States "as a global power has vital interests in all parts of the world--in Latin America the same as in Southeast Asia, in the Middle East and in Europe."

Haig avoided direct answers as to the delicate problem of the neutron bomb, and together with Genscher tried to give the impression that it is the United States and not the Soviet Union which strives with initiative for disarmament negotiations. He was not disguising that, as a former NATO commander in Europe, it gives him pleasure now in a different function to exert pressure on West European governments in connection with the deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe. America has allegedly been making sacrifices for the security of the West and therefore demands the same from its allies on the continent.

Haig's stay in the FRG shows that the American hide-and-seek game with its allies continues and that this time the general was acting mainly as an advocate of the neutron bomb. If 2 years ago the main "argument" for NATO's decisions was the alleged Soviet missile danger, today the Pentagon--in connection with the neutron bomb--draws attention to the "threat" of Soviet tanks.

Haig was promising consultations with the allies before the deployment of this new terrible weapon, but few people in the FRG are now ready to believe this after the latest experiences with the United States. Rather there is concern that Bonn and other capitals will be presented with a fait accompli. Therefore, Haig's arrival only increased the fears of the progressive public that Reagan's course is becoming ever more dangerous and threatening not only the FRG, but the process of detente in general.

It was no coincidence that the inspection tour took the U.S. secretary of state to Bonn. Reagan very much dislikes the growing opposition of the West European public to his course. Washington is aware that the antiwar movement has also gained a strong base in the Federal Republic, which was always regarded as an exemplary and obedient pupil of the United States. Therefore, the Schmidt government was entrusted with the task of somehow dealing with that movement, and then going over to a "persuasion action" vis-a-vis Holland, Denmark and Belgium.

Haig was not only to convey the orders of the White House, but was also to bring back with him the latest information on whether the present SPD-FDP coalition government is able to push through more "sacrifices" in favor of armaments. What he heard in salons and read in "independent" newspapers could lead him to the assumption that everything will go without problems. However, he could not feel and not see that public opinion in the FRG has an explicit view of the present U.S. administration. This was attested to by the antiwar demonstrations, to which Haig's arrival gave a new impetus. Contrary to General Haig, the majority of the population knows nothing more important than peace.

BCP DELEGATION ATTENDS PRAGUE ANNIVERSARY SOIREE

LD172258 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2000 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Excerpt] On the occasion of the 1,300th anniversary of the foundation of the Bulgarian state and the 37th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria a festive soiree was held in the Smetana Theater in Prague today. The soiree was attended by the working people of Prague and a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Federal Government and the National Front Central Committee, led by Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, chairman of the Czech National Council and chairman of the National Front Central Committee of the Czech Socialist Republic.

A party and a government delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria led by Peko Takov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of State, also took part in the festive soiree.

POLEDNIK MEETS WITH VISITING PCP DELEGATION

LD172126 Prague CTK in English 1716 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Prague, 17 Sep (CTK)--The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Jindrich Polednik met a Portuguese Communist Party delegation headed by Antonio Jose Casmarinha, a member of its Central Committee. The talks during which the Portuguese guests were interested especially in national committee's activity were held in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

TRADE PROTOCOL WITH DPRK SIGNED IN KOREA

LD171018 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0900 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] A protocol on trade between Czechoslovakia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for 1982 has been signed in Pyongyang. The protocol provides for a further increase in the volume of foreign trade between the two countries and creates prerequisites for the deepening of economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1982.

SOLIDARITY CITED FOR 'SLANDERING,' 'INSULT'

AU171350 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 16 Sep 81 on page 5 carries a 280-word ADN dispatch reporting that Solidarity has been increasing its attacks against the state power in Poland after the first round of the Solidarity congress, and preparing new strikes, as for instance in the "POLAM" plants. The dispatch refers to a TASS report criticizing the cultural events during the Solidarity congress as "nothing but an unrestrained slandering of socialist Poland, an insult to the Soviet Union," and states that the leaders of rural Solidarity were trying arbitrarily to occupy the grounds of the LRG's and the state farms.

CPUSA LEADER GUS HALL MEETS WITH HONECKER

LD171724 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1404 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 17 Sep (ADN)--Erich Honecker held a fraternal meeting on Thursday with Gus Hall. A joint press release was issued on the meeting, the text of which text is as follows:

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Gus Hall, the secretary general of the Communist Party of the United States [CPUSA], during their meeting on 17 September 1981 in Berlin described the struggle to secure peace, overcome the exacerbated international tensions, and the conclusion of agreements as quickly as possible on arms control and disarmament as the most buring issues of mankind and the most important international tasks of both parties.

The dangerous exacerbation of the international situation and the increased nuclear threat to life on earth, the two general secretaries noted, are caused by the policy of confrontation and arms drive which have long been prepared by the most aggressive circles of imperialism. Great risks to world peace are involved in the plans of the present U.S. administration which aim at strategic military superiority over the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as well as world domination. A matter for concern is the conspiracy of China with the United States against the interests of peace, national independence and socialism which now extends to the military sphere.

The plans to site new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles in West Europe menacingly intensify the level of military confrontation and jeopardize the positive results of detente achieved during the seventies. A particular challenge to all those in the world to whom a peaceful life for the peoples is the most sacred possession is posed by the U.S. administration's decision on production of the neutron bomb. The European continent does not need new nuclear weapons but instead a limitation and reduction of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race. Military confrontation in Europe would have disastrous consequences for U.S. territory also.

The SED and the CPUSA thus call for serious and businesslike talks between the USSR and the United States on limiting and reducing strategic arms. They regard constructive talks on nuclear medium-range missiles in Europe, including the foreward based U.S. nuclear missiles, as being particularly urgent. They attributed great importance to the convening of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. They support the resumption and constructive continuation of political dialogue between East and West which includes meetings at summit-level.

Erich Honecker and Gus Hall endorse the full agreement of both parties with the peace program for the eighties of the 26th CPSU Congress. They stressed the great upsurge in the international struggle for peace which reflects the will and strength of the peoples.

It is necessary to do everything possible to intensify still further cooperation among communists, socialists, social democrats, Christians, trade unionists, intellectuals, artists and all forces interested in peace against the fateful arms race and aimed at a transfer to disarmament.

In view of the aggravated international class confrontation, the responsibility of the communist movement is increased. Special importance is thus attributed to consolidating action unity between communist and workers' parties.

The SED and the CPUSA support in a spirit of solidarity the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America for freedom, democracy, national independence and social progress. They stand firmly by the side of the peoples of the Caribbean region in their struggle against the U.S. administration's imperialist policy of interference and blackmail. their particular solidarity is extended out to socialist Cuba, revolutionary Nicaragua and the heroic struggle of the people of El Salvador. They emphatically demand freedom for Antonio Maidana, first secretary of the Communist Party of Paraguay Central Committee. Both parties most strongly condemn the brutal aggression against Angola by the South African apartheid regime which is supported by U.S. imperialism, and demand the immediate withdrawal of the occupiers.

Erich Honecker paid tribute to the consistent and persistent struggle of the U.S. communists who adopt an inflexible stance in the centre of world imperialism for the safeguarding of peace and the defense of the vital interests of the working people. The CPUSA is the only political force which by its program offers the U.S. people a prospect of security and peace, without capitalist exploitation and crises, free from racism and national oppression.

Erich Honecker gave an account of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress and the great creative initiatives of the GDR working people for their successful implementation. The consistent and creative application of Marxism-Leninism, the further strengthening of the leading role of the party of the working class, the close trustful relations between party and people, and the further development of socialist democracy, he stressed, are the guarantee for the continued fashioning of the advanced socialist society. The indissoluble alliance with the USSR, the firm anchoring of the GDR within the community of socialist states are the guarantee of its successful forward march.

The CPUSA secretary general expressed his high regard for the impressive achievements of the working class and all GDR working people under SED leadership in the building of socialism The GDR is proving an effective and reliable cornerstone of peace and socialism in Europe.

Gus Hall reported on the deepening crisis of the U.S. capitalist system and its effect on domestic developments. The course of massive armaments and drastic dismantling of social benefits pursued by the most aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism is encountering growing resistance from the working people who are not prepared to pay for it by unemployment, inflation and a deteriorating living standard. Proceeding from the decision of their 22d congress the U.S. communists devote all their energies to the mobilization of a broad antimonopolist movement for the defense of the vital fundamental interests of the country's working masses. The party devotes particular attention to the further strengthening of its fighting power, to the establishment of working class unity and the struggle against racism.

The representatives of the SED and the CPUSA paid tribute to the close fraternal relations between the two parties which bear the imprint of the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They agreed on steps for the further development of their cooperation.

ADN on Honecker Toast

LD172039 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1552 GMT 17 Sep 81

["From Erich Honecker's Toast at the Luncheon for Gus Hall"--ADN Headline]

[Text] Berlin, 17 Sep (ADN)--At the luncheon for Gus Hall in Berlin on Thursday, Erich Honecker stressed that Gus Hall's visit affirmed afresh the firm internationalist solidarity linking the communists of the GDR and the United States for many decades. "With high regard and sympathy the working people of our country follow your self-denying struggle which under the conditions of massive anticommunist incitement campaign in the center of world imperialism is particularly complicated. It is a well-known fact that the U.S. communists are proving courageous and inflexible fighters for peace, democracy and socialism."

Faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the SED and the CPUSA spare no effort to safeguard for their peoples a future in peace and security.

Erich Honecker pointed out that the exchange of views on multilateral and bilateral questions revealed complete agreement and confirmed that "we are waging our struggle and steadfastly move toward our common goals on the firm basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. I must say that I was deeply impressed by the analysis given by Comrade Gus Hall of the present situation of the United States and the policy of the Reagan administration. On the strength of what he said we renewed our optimism that there is nothing so tough in the world that it cannot be overcome by a communist party which is closely linked with the popular masses."

In view of the aggravation of the international situation and the resulting transition to a course of confrontation, which has been caused by the most reactionary imperialist forces, first and foremost the United States, we both regard it as the first and supreme duty of communists to do everything to preserve the world from nuclear disaster, Erich Honecker continued. "Today socialism, the forces of peace throughout the world are incomparably stronger than in the past ahd have the strength to foil the aggressive plans of imperialism. The peace initiatives of the USSR, the GDR and the other socialist countries concentrate on ending the arms race and the danger of war."

Together with untold millions of people throughout the world both parties affirmed the principle that Europe and the world do not need new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles and neutron bombs. "That is why we are strongly opposed to NATO's arms drive. A policy of arms drive does not mean greater security but, on the contrary, a step toward a third world war. Serious and businesslike negotiations on the reduction of armaments, especially of nuclear armaments, should be started without delay in order to make the lives of people more secure and initiate a change toward disarmament."

Erich Honecker pointed out that the GDR working people are implementing the decisions of the 10th SED congress by a great creative mass movement. The close trustful relationship which links party and people is the guarantee that we will continue to fashion successfully the advanced socialist society and to live up to our responsibility in the struggle for peace and socialism. There is the unchanging fundamental concern of our party to do everything for the good of the people.

"The indissoluble friendship with the USSR, the firmly anchored position of the GDR within the socialist community are of fundamental importance for the further consolidation of our workers and peasants state. Together with the other partner states of the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA we adopt a resolute stance against the attempts of the imperialist class opponent to weaken our community and to undo the achievements of the building of socialism."

In conclusion, Erich Honecker said: "Strengthening the unity of action of the communist and workers parties is a task of paramount importance for the joint struggle of all peace-loving people against the aggressive imperialist course. The communists have always been the most ardent champions of peace. Today, too, they stand in the vanguard of this struggle. The fraternal cooperation of the SED and the CPUSA makes an important contribution to the consolidation of the internationalist communist movement, the strongest political force of our time."

EUROPEAN CATHOLIC JOURNALISTS MEET IN BERLIN

Meeting Opens 10 Sep

AU142115 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Sep 81 p 4

[Summary] Berlin (ADN)--On 10 September about 70 Catholic publicists and journalists from 20 European countries met in Berlin for 3 days of consultations on topical problems and the tasks of the mass media. The meeting, to which the Presidium of the Berlin conference of Catholics from European countries had issued invitations, had the motto "Communications and action of Catholics in the service of peace." Otto Hartmut Fuchs, chairman of the Presidium of the Berlin conference, as well as journalists from Ireland, Hungary, Italy and the GDR stressed the importance of working for peace, and reported on the ethical and political principles of responsible journalism. Chief Editor Hubertus Guske from the GDR reported that in the GDR more than 30 periodicals of churches and religious communities are published.

Concluded 12 Sep

AU151655 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Sep 81 p 4

[Summary] Berlin (ADN)--On 12 September the meeting of Catholic publicists and journalists from 20 European countries ended in Berlin. "As the final communique of the meeting states, the discussion held in two working groups made clear the obligatory task 'to support all efforts for immediately ending the arms race, ending the production of the neutron weapon and resuming disarmament negotiations.'" On Saturday Klaus Gysi, GDR state secretary for church affairs, gave a reception for the conference participants and in his address stressed the importance of detente and disarmament. The reception was attended by Werner Kirchhoff, vice president of the National Council of the National Front; Rudi Bellmann, chief of the Working Group for Church Affairs at the SED Central Committee; and other prominent figures of the GDR's social life.

WILLI STOPH ADDRESSES WAR MEMORIAL MEETING

LD132248 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1731 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin 13 Sep (ADN)--To mark the international memorial day for the victims of fascist terror and the action day against fascism and war, the GDR Council of Ministers gave a reception on Sunday evening in Berlin. Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, welcomed at the cordial meeting representatives of the international federation of resistance fighters and national sister organizations from more than 20 countries and West Berlin. He conveyed to them warm greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. The reception was attended by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Willi Stoph stressed in his toast: "Antifascist fighters, all forces who, aware of their responsibility, work courageously and ardently for peace, disarmament and understanding in the world, will always have a firm and resolute ally in the GDR."

He noted that the 10th SED Congress again underlined the indissoluble unity of socialism and peace, and stressed: "The supreme command of action for our Marxist-Leninist party, for our socialist state of workers and peasants, is to work alongside the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal states and together with all progressive forces to secure peace." He continued: "Through our purposeful policy of peace and active anti-imperialist solidarity we shall continue to make our contribution toward securing mankind's life and happiness". This is currently being demonstrated once again to the whole world by Erich Honecker's state visit to Mexico.

On the subject of the plans to make the territory of European NATO states into a launching site for new types of nuclear missiles, he said: "It is only understandable for the peoples of Europe to react by putting up increasingly resolute resistance to these criminal plans of destruction". The work of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters, which celebrates its 30th anniversary this year, is of great importance in this respect.

During the reception, Alix Lhote, secretary general of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters, spoke in reply. Addressing the former GDR anti-fascist resistance fighters present, he praised their high degree of social involvement, which is in evidence everywhere. Their efforts to bring up the younger generation of the GDR in the spirit of the struggle for a peaceful world, free of fascism and incitement to war are particularly impressive. He expressed his great satisfaction at visiting, together with antifascists and democrats from over 20 countries, the GDR, a country which has enshrined the ideals of peace in its Constitution.

KONRAD NAUMANN ADDRESSES BERLIN ACTIVISTS

LD152200 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 15 Sep 81

[Text] The party activists of the GDR capital declared today their readiness to face up to the demands placed on their ideological efforts, demands which have changed and evolved. Konrad Naumann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk Executive, said at the opening of the party teaching year that new tasks will arise from the future shape of the developed socialist society which presupposes stable socialist state power. A fundamental issue concerning the working classes' exercise of power is the comprehensive involvement of the workers in factory administration. The GDR's successful development to date has, as Konrad Naumann suggested, been possible only because of the creative and consistent application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism by the SED, and its giving priority to the vital interests of the citizens.

Dealing with the main task, he said that the sound fulfillment of our economic plans is the foundation for all that each individual needs and aspires to--lasting peace, social security and the gradual improvement of the standard of living and of culture. The socialist countries do not allow themselves to be blackmailed by the warlike policies of the United States. So that socialism could be reliably protected, Konrad Naumann urged the constant intensification of revolutionary vigilance and that readiness and capability should be ensured still more comprehensively.

STOPH AWARDS KARL MARX ORDER TO GUENTHER KLEIBER

LD161408 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1108 GMT 16 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 16 Sep (ADN)--On Wednesday, Guenther Kleiber, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers was awarded the Order of Karl Marx. This high distinction, which Premier Willi Stoph presented to him, was conferred upon the deserving party and state functionary by the chairman of the Council of Ministers to mark his 50th birthday, at the recommendation of the SED Central Committee Politburo and of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers.

JANOS BERECZ WRITES ON EVENTS, LESSONS OF 1956

LD170904 Budapest MTI in English 1739 GMT 16 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 16 Sep (MTI)--Under the joint title "Continuity and Renascence - Lessons from the History of HSWP," three studies on the major events in post-liberation Hungary and the lessons to be drawn from them are published in the August-September issue of TARSADALMI SZEMLE (SOCIAL REVIEW).

Lajos Izsak, Ph.D. (History), assistant professor at the Budapest Ectvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences, deals in his article entitled "Class and Party Struggles, Political Trends After the Liberation," with the post-liberation advances of the Hungarian left-wing, with the circumstances under which the two workers' parties united, and with the sectarian errors. Entitled "1956 - From the Perspective of a Quarter Century", [word indistinct] of Janos Berecz, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and head of the CC Foreign Affairs Department, is devoted to the political crisis immediately preceding the Hungarian counter-revolution, to the different phases of the counter-revolution, and to the revolutionary counter-offensive that followed. "The Counter-Revolution - The Strategy of Imperialism" is the title of a study by Kornel Haynal, editor-in-chief of weekly ORSZAG-VILAG (THE WORLD), analysing how counter-revolution, in addition to economic discrimination and ideological diversion, becomes a primary weapon of imperialism in fighting socialism.

Below follows a brief version of Janos Berecz's article (the other two articles will be covered later).

Discussing the antecedents of the counter-revolution, Janos Berecz says: "Despite the impressive results of the massive industrialization drive and owing to the disproportional economy development concept and other reasons, the national economy proved unable to fulfill the excessive plans. Agricultural production was on the decline, public supplies were not smooth, and the workers' living standard was falling. Adding to the problems was that national feelings were offended too." The author further says that from 1953 onwards the Rakosi-led sectarian, dogmatic group and the Imre Nagy-led revisionists engaged in open rivalry. The sectarian leadership was unable even after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to come to the right conclusions and uproot the distortions of personality cult, which strengthened the faction of Imre Nagy acting by this time "as a centre of opposition revisionists".

"The inner enemies of socialist transformation," the article goes on "could organize themselves and prepare to topple the people's power in relatively 'calm' and favourable circumstances. Illustrative of the measure of their activization is that the competent state authorities launched proceedings against 53 intelligence agents in 1954 and against 162 in 1955; and exposed 15 major and 30 minor plots in 1955-1956. The preparation and unleashing of the armed uprising involved some 250 smaller or bigger underground organizations and groups."

In the summer of 1956 the Hungarian Party of Workers adopted important measures in an effort to take control of the situation. At its July session the Central Board made Matyas Rakosi resign and admitted to the Central Board and the Political Committee such popular and influential leaders as Janos Kadar, Gyula Kallai, Gyorgy Marosan and Imre Mezo. But "Erno Gero, the party's new first secretary, and his associates who still continued in the leadership and shared in previous errors and crimes, proved incapable of making radical changes in the party policy, and of elaborating and introducing the necessary reforms."

Under the cross-heading "The Counter-Revolution's First Phase", Janos Berecz surveys the events beginning from October 23: "Most people had the feeling that socialist development got a new direction and that a purified socialist policy emerged victorious from the ardent manifestations. But under the cloak of the falling night, the armed counter-revolution was sneaking in the ranks of the masses elated with the atmosphere of the demonstration and grown by then into hundreds of thousands... The armed revolt began almost simultaneously in a number of key places and with the same tactics, as was planned and exercised beforehand by the reactionary plotters.

First unarmed demonstrators appeared in front of the major establishments, then followed sounds of provocative instigation, and finally snipers moved into action from behind the masses. The first shots around the radio building were fired after 8 p.m., but the guards received orders to fire only after midnight." During the night the uprising centres emerged, organized by expert persons. University students were generally quick to depart from those places, which is shown also by the fact that only 20 of them were killed in the fighting. (The death-roll of the time recorded about 3,000 deaths.) The Central Board of the Hungarian Party of Workers, "in view of the powerful, unexpected and organized hostile offensive...and reckoning with the possibility of an imperialist military intervention, resolved to turn for help to the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary."

The article points out: October 24 was the day of the lining-up: The seats of armed counter-revolution were established and against them were formed factory guards, the home security forces took up fighting, and some army troops were also active. October 25, however, brought a heavy wave of provocations and treasons. Despite the stand of the party's Military Committee, Prime Minister Imre Nagy lifted the curfew. "With this he created an opportunity for the organization of demonstrations."

"At the session of the HPW Central Board, Imre Nagy and his supporters already spoke against the armed suppression of the counter-revolution. Under pressure from great many different delegations and under the impact of conflicting news, uncertainty kept growing in the Central Board. But it made one more trial for the change: It dismissed Erno Gero and elected Janos Kadar as first secretary. But this move either could not prevent the Nagy-goup from committing treason."

The author enlists the events of the following days; then; arriving at October 28, he says that "practically two revolts took place in the country. One in the street with arms, and the other within the party, fought by Imre Nagy and his associates in the political centres by means of demands, pressure and treason. Although the uprising failed to triumph militarily, Prime Minister Imre Nagy declared it so in his October 28 speech, thus paralysing and preventing forces loyal to socialism to go on fighting. The head of government termed counter-revolutionaries, i.e. reactionary and lumpen elements, as revolutionaries. This assessment, even if unsaid, actually allowed to suggest that the term counter-revolutionary implies every worker, peasant and soldier who defends the people's power and fights to safeguard law and order. It was one of the gravest treasons in Hungarian history..."

The armed counter-revolutionary groups drew considerable strength from the release of prisoners - spies, armed plotters and war criminals - whose majority joined the armed revolt at once. A period of massacre and murders began.

The author dates the second phase of the counter-revolution from October 30. Its aim was: 1) to broaden the counter-revolutionary process, organize all restitutional forces, occupy the seats of power, set to restoring the social order based on private property; 2) to tear Hungary out of the socialist community, to link it by ever more bonds to the capitalist world, and to develop it into a base of political-ideological struggle against the socialist countries, mainly the Soviet Union.

The Hungarian Party of Workers' Presidium set up on October 28, declared the dissolution of the new party two days later and resolved to establish a new organization, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Followers of Imre Nagy were in majority in the ad interim Executive Committee of the new party, but "the communists throughout the country recognized ever more clearly the dangerous character of the events and began to organize themselves. They set up communist party organizations and started working on the formation of armed units."

On October 29, Janos Kadar had deliberations over these very issues at the Budapest party committee which was attacked by the combined Budapest counter-revolutionary groups on October 30 despite a ceasefire confirmed repeatedly. A platoon of regulars and some 30-40 civilian party workers defended the building for hours, but since they got help neither from Prime Minister Imre Nagy, nor from elsewhere, the building was captured by the counter-revolutionaries. About 25 persons were murdered in cold blood, several were hanged on trees at the nearby square. Follwoing this, terror became rampant and lynchings became frequent in streets.

During these days new parties were organized too, with their number shortly reaching 70. Prince-Primate Josef Mindszenty, whom TARSADALMI SZEMLE describes as "the most reactionary prelate in Hungarian history", was releasted from house arrest. Anti-Soviet propaganda got escalated and nationalist provocation started turning into official policy. "Mindszenty's Budapest office became the military headquarters. Reactionary politicians frequented his place. He negotiated with the deputies of the government and had talks with foreign countries on telephone, including with Washington on two occasions. Liaison agents from abroad thronged his place. He received a delegation from the Free Europe Committee..."

In the following section cross-headlined "Revolutionary Counter-Offensives", Janos Berecz points out that the first days of November were marked by a series of events which, however, were not known at that time: organization of a new revolutionary centre and the elaboration of revolutionary counter-offensive. Janos Kadar and Ferenc Munich left Budapest in the evening of November 1 and set down to organizing the new revolutionary centre. The following day they were joined by Gyorgy Marosan, Antal Apro, Karoly Kiss and many others.

Janos Berecz goes on to mention that the Soviet leaders analysed the events in Hungary and had discussions with a Chinese party delegation, which happened to be in Moscow at that time, and then beginning on November 1 they had talks with Polish, Czechoslovak, Romanian and Bulgarian leaders and thereafter, at the Brijuni island, with Yugoslav leaders about the Hungarian situation and the necessary [word indistinct]. The author writes the following about these:

"Various views and approaches were expressed at the consultations, but on fundamental questions they had identical opinion. They established that the counter-revolution had gained ground in Hungary. It was destroying the Hungarian workers' socialist achievements and it engendered a hotbed of war in the middle of Europe and to stop these developments constituted joint and internationalist interest. Learning of the formation of the new revolutionary centre for restoring socialist order and legality, they stated that they were willing to render every assistance to it (to the new centre) in fulfilling its task."

For consolidating proletarian dictatorship, the new revolutionary centre deemed it necessary first of all to shatter the armed groups of the counter-revolution. "Against the option of a prolonged civil war which moreover would have enhanced the possibility of imperialist intervention, in conformity with the Warsaw Treaty the workers-peasants revolutionary government turned to the Government of the Soviet Union for military help. The units of the Soviet Army set off on November 4 at [figure indistinct] in the morning to defeat the counter-revolutionary groups.

On the same day at 5, Radio Szolnok reported the formation of a new government and its programme." Major battles took place only in Budapest, but since the population did not support the counter-revolutionary groups, a big majority of these were driven out from Budapest by November 9. Janos Kadar announced on radio on November 11 that the open, armed attacks have been overcome in the entire country.

"An important place in the party programme," continues Janos Berecz, "went to the protection of the achievements and results registered in the past 1[illegible] years and at the same time to demarcate itself from the blunders and cases of law infringement committed in the foregoing years." The party broke off from the Imre Nagy group, which "renouncing the positions of the people's power and striking a nationalist-chauvinist stand, paved the way for the counter-revolutionary forces and thereby betrayed the cause of socialism. This basic political principle described as two-front fight became the cornerstone of the HSWP's every action."

As a result of the workers-peasants revolutionary government's measures aimed at organizing armed forces, nearly 18,000 persons were armed by 1956-end to ensure the legal order of the workers' power. "It formed part of the HSWP's highly effective policy that it marked a sharp demarcation line between the working masses' movement and the aims of the counter-revolution and the activity of the counter-revolutionary groups manoeuvring to overthrow the people's power. The ad interim Central Committee of the party issued an appeal on November 6 clearly outlining that the counter-revolutionary forces 'exploited the masses' discontent which emanated from the mistakes of the past but which was not directed at all against the people's power.' That is why it adopted several resolutions to satisfy the masses' demands and well-founded expectations."

"Huge tasks awaited the renewed party leadership and the people's power in the full political-economic consolidation of the system, to reassure people and to eliminate ideological confusion. The realization of these tasks - in a much shorter time than foreseen - raised the prestige of the Hungarian party leadership and the Hungarian People's Republic in the world. The consolidation furnished a firm basis for the further development - though not undisturbed, but unceasing and even - of the achievements of socialist construction," concludes the article by Janos Berecz.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON KUWAITI LEADER'S VISIT

Farewell, Departure

LD161152 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 16 Sep 81

[Excerpts] Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, the ruler of Kuwait, left Budapest this morning. He had paid an official friendly visit to Hungary at the invitation of Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council. The festive farewell to Shaykh as-Sabah took place in front of parliament building. Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, several members of the Council of Ministers and the leaders of the diplomatic representations were present at the ceremony. Afterwards, the Kuwaiti guests were driven to the airport from where the amir's special plane took off a few minutes after 1100.

MTI: Communique on Talks

LD162044 Budapest MTI in English 1801 GMT 16 Sep 81

["Hungarian-Kuwaiti Joint Communique"--MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, 16 Sep (MTI)--At the invitation of Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, amir of the State of Kuwait, paid an official visit to the Hungarian People's Republic between September 14 and 16.

In the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding, the two parties held comprehensive talks on the international situation and the development of their bilateral relations.

Both parties have stated with satisfaction the wide-ranging cooperation in all fields between the Hungarian People's Republic and the State of Kuwait. The further development of the relations is greatly enhanced by high-level contacts, such as in particular the present visit of Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, head of state. The Hungarian side highly appreciate his visit and the negotiations conducted between the two parties.

They have noted that economic and financial cooperation between Hungary and Kuwait has begun developing rapidly and stated that there are further opportunities for continued fruitful cooperation between the two countries. The Hungarian side, in agreement with the Kuwaiti side, has expressed its readiness to increase its contribution to the realization of the development plans of Kuwait. They have agreed to explore opportunities for expanding cooperation in third markets.

In surveying the international situation, the two parties have stressed the need for all efforts to be made towards consolidating international peace and security. They have expressed concern about the (?deterioration) of the international situation and emphasized the necessity of maintaining and strengthening detente. They expressed their firm conviction that international relations should be based on the principles of mutual respect, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force and respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. They have demanded the cessation of the arms race, the realization of general and complete disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, and the limitation of strategic armaments. They have underlined the importance of adopting confidence-building measures between nations and deepening constructive inter-state cooperation. They have stressed the need for a greater role to be played by the United Nations in settling international conflicts.

The two sides noted with great concern the deteriorating situation in the Middle East, arising from Israel's aggressive and expansionist policies against the Arab peoples and countries. They also agreed that a just and durable solution to the Middle East problem cannot be achieved without the restoration of the national, legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and their right to establish their independent state on their territory, and without the complete withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories. In this respect, the two sides also reaffirmed their continuous support for the Palestinian Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and the necessity of its participation in all efforts aiming at a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The parties have resolutely condemned the aggressive acts of Israel against the neighbouring Arab countries, such as her ceaseless interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon and her barbarous attacks on peaceful civilians. They stressed the need for support for efforts to bring about peace and stability in Lebanon and to safeguard its unity, independence and territorial integrity under its legal authority.

The Kuwaiti side has expressed its high appreciation of the stand of the Hungarian side supporting the just cause of the Arab peoples.

The parties have deemed it indispensable that the declaration of the United Nations on the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean be implemented as soon as possible.

They have reaffirmed their conviction that the maintenance of peace and security in the gulf area is the responsibility of its states alone, without any foreign interference. They have expressed their conviction that the region must be kept free from international conflicts.

The two sides expressed their grave concern in the continuation of the conflict between Iraq and Iran, and emphasized the urgent need of ending the confrontation between the two countries by peaceful means through negotiations.

Reviewing the international economic situation, the parties have underlined that need for the economic improvement of the developing countries be promoted by all possible means and for the establishment of a new international economic order which will serve both the interest of the developing and developed countries and the prosperity of all peoples of the world.

Shaykh Jab'r al-Ahmad as-Sabah, amir of the State of Kuwait, has expressed his thanks to the Hungarian party for the cordial reception and hospitality.

Shaykh Jab'r al-Ahmad as-Sabah, amir of the State of Kuwait, has invited Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, to pay an official visit to Kuwait. The invitation was accepted with thanks. The date of the visit will be agreed upon later.

JOINT STANDPOINTS EXPRESSED AGAINST SOLIDARITY TU

LD171938 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Work stopped in the Budapest Orion factory [for radio and television sets] for a few moments this afternoon to formulate and express a joint standpoint. It was the increasingly worrying Polish developments which called together the workers collective of more than 1,000 in order to voice their solidarity with the forces which are faithful to socialism in Poland, and with those who are struggling in Poland for the restoration of social peace, balanced and calm progress and a socialist solution. The Orion workers expressed the hope that the honest workers grouped inside Solidarity will not permit themselves to be deceived and will order a halt to the counterrevolutionary endeavors of their leaders and the Polish counterrevolutionary forces.

Those speaking at the rally unanimously condemned those in Poland who go far beyond the functions of a trade union and who are attempting to gain power, who incite anti-Soviet attitudes and denigrate socialist achievements. The collective has addressed an open letter to the workers of the Warsaw television factory in which they stress that the appeal by the Solidarity congress, which was addressed to us as well, evoked great indignation. We firmly reject it. We wish to advance along the road chosen by ourselves. The public opinion of our country and the workers of this factory are in solidarity with those who take a courageous stand, a firm stand, for a solution to the crisis, the defense of the socialist achievements and their consolidation in Poland, the letter states.

One of the speakers at the workers' rally was Karoly Sugar, a mechanic:

[Begin recording] [Sugar] This letter expresses the joint opinion of our factory collective. I feel that it expresses not only the opinion of the workers of the Orion factory but also the views of the workers of the entire country.

[Unidentified correspondent] In your speech you said that the Solidarity congress in Gdansk did not provide a program for the Polish workers.

[Sugar] Indeed, in my opinion and I think also in the opinion of every sober-thinking working man, the very composition of the congress was such that only a very small proportion of the working class was represented, and this program is not a workers' program. It cannot be a program of the workers of today's and future Poland; rather, this program can only provide a program for the counterrevolutionary groups pursuing a policy of adventurism. [end recording]

A meeting of intellectuals, attended by researchers, scientists of European renown, writers, artists, representatives of the intellectual life of the city, was held today in Szeged. The purpose of the meeting, which was held at the university building, was to express the view of those who view the Polish events with concern. The speakers expressed their disquiet with the deterioration of the economic situation in Poland and the increase in social tensions. They protested over the appeal addressed by the Solidarity congress to the workers of the East European countries. They stressed that this amounts to interference in the internal affairs of other countries. They stated that, just like the peoples of the other socialist countries, the Hungarian workers are also in solidarity with those who represent the cause of the Polish people, with the progressive forces. We have a right to expect Solidarity to concentrate on assuming responsibility for the fate of the country and not to endeavor to force the delusions of certain of its leaders on other countries. The participants in the meeting approved the statement containing the joint standpoint.

PUJA LEAVES FOR UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION

LD171738 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 17 Sep (MTI)--Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja left for the 36th session of the UN General Assembly in New York on Thursday.

DELEGATES ADDRESS IPU CONFERENCE IN HAVANA

LD172136 Budapest MTI in English 1701 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Havana, 17 Sep (MTI)--The 68th Havana Conference of the Interparliamentary Union has been addressed by Sandor Barcs, member of the Hungarian Presidential Council, chairman of the IPU Hungarian section. He said that the socialist countires' policy is aimed chiefly at commencing genuine disarmament talks and reaching agreements on the basis of the balance of forces.

"People in Hungary believe," he said, "that the strained international situation gives added significance to the resumption of the dialogue. The Soviet party resolution published after the Crimea meetings is one of the most important political developments of recent months. It accentuates the consistent policy pursued by the socialist countries to maintain peace, brake the arms race and settle crisis situations through negotiations. The people would like to trust that the negotiating practice will gain the upper hand (?sooner or) later, but for the moment Washington prepares for armament instead of talks," said Sandor Barcs.

Speaking at the session was Deputy Istvan Darvasi, editor in chief of MAGYAR HIRLAP, who said that the new U.S. administration seeks not only to acquire the military supremacy, but also to count down [as received] with socialism as a social system and to restore the hegemony of capitalism in the world.

"We are convinced that common sense will gain prevalence sooner or later in the United States too, since peaceful co-existence is the only alternative to man's self-destruction. The other countries of the world, including the U.S. allies, refuse to stake their existence for American interests. Europe has no wish to become the battlefield of an American-triggered world war," said Istvan Darvasi, addressing the 68th IPU meeting in Havana.

BRIEFS

MEXICAN ENVOY RECEIVED--Budapest, 11 Sep (MTI) Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, received on Friday Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Alfonso Herrera Salcedo, new ambassador of the United States of Mexico to Budapest, who presented his credentials to the Hungarian head of state. Also present on the occasion was Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Robert Garai. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1021 GMT 12 Sep 81 LD]

WARSAW ON CPSU STATEMENT; 'ANTI-SOVIETISM' COMPLAINT

LD180846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0715 GMT 18 Sep 81

["Contents of the Statement of the CPSU Central Committee and of the Government of the Soviet Union"]

[Text] Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Soviet Ambassador Boris Aristov, who on behalf of the highest party and state leadership of the USSR said that the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government are forced to draw the attention of the PZPR Central Committee and the Government of the Polish People's Republic to the growth of anti-Sovietism in Poland, which has increased to such an extent that it has reached dangerous limits.

The facts testify that an acute and unbridled campaign against the Soviet Union and its foreign and domestic policy is manifestly being extensively waged in the country and that it is going unpunished. These are not isolated, irresponsible attacks but the coordinated action of enemies of socialism with a precisely determined political thrust. Their main goal is to smear and slander the first socialist state in the world and the very idea of socialism, to arouse enmity and hatred among the Poles toward the Soviet Union and Soviet people, to break the bonds of fraternal friendship linking our peoples and as a result to tear Poland from the socialist community and to liquidate socialism in Poland.

The anti-Soviet campaign is penetrating increasingly deeply into different spheres of the country's social life, including ideology, culture and the system of education and upbringing. The history of relations between our countries is being sharply distorted. Fierce propaganda against the Soviet Union is to be discerned in the pages of various publications, on cinema screens and on theatrical stages and platforms. It is to be heard openly in public speeches to mass audiences by the ringleaders of KSS-KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee], the Confederation for an Independent Poland and Solidarity.

The first round of the trade union congress in essence became a platform from which slanders and insults were directed at our state. An outrageous provocation was the so-called message to the working people of Eastern Europe, passed in Gdansk. Anti-Soviet forces continue to sully the memory of Soviet soldiers who in the hundreds of thousands gave their lives for the freedom and independence of the Polish nation. These forces are defiling their graves. Threats are appearing against soldiers of Soviet Army units, which are standing guard over the western boundaries of the socialist community, of which the Polish People's Republic is also a part.

The antisocialist forces are aiming at evoking an atmosphere of extreme nationalism in Poland, giving it a distinctly anti-Soviet character, while the scale of intensity and degree of hostility of the current anti-Soviet campaign in Poland is taking on anti-Soviet characteristics which are kindled in some imperialist states.

This cannot but give rise to this question in our country: Why, on the part of official authorities in Poland, have no decisive steps been taken up to now to put an end to the hostile campaign against the USSR, with which People's Poland is linked by friendly relations and alliance obligations? This stand even contradicts the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, where the principle of strengthening friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union is written.

We do not know of one single case of the instigators of anti-Soviet provocations meeting with a sharp reaction from the authorities and being punished. What is more, they are being given access to hold meetings, to state premises; the mass media are being made available; and technical means are allocated, although it is known in advance for what purposes they will be used.

More than once we drew the attention of the leadership of the PZPR and the Government of the Polish People's Republic to the rising tide of anti-Sovietism in Poland. We spoke about this during the meeting in Moscow in March, and in April in Warsaw. We wrote about this with complete openness in the letter of the CPSU Central Committee on 5 June. We also talked about it during the meeting in the Crimea in August of this year.

We will not conceal that all this gives rise to profound indignation among Soviet people. There is an uninterrupted flow of letters to the CPSU Central Committee and local party organs in which Soviet communists and nonparty people express surprise over the exemption from punishment of anti-Soviet propaganda which is being conducted in a neighboring friendly state.

The Soviet people, who made enormous sacrifices in the name of the liberation of Poland from fascist bondage and who unselfishly helped and are helping your country, have a full moral right to demand that an end be put to the anti-Soviet impudence in the Polish People's Republic.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government consider that further tolerance of any kinds of phenomena of anti-Sovietism causes tremendous damage to Polish-Soviet relations and is in direct contradiction with the commitments based on alliance taken on by Poland, and to the vital interests of the Polish people. We expect that the leadership of the PZPR and the Government of the Polish People's Republic will without delay take resolute and radical steps in order to stop the malicious anti-Soviet propaganda and acts which are hostile to the Soviet Union.

EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

LD171748 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers took place today, under the chairmanship of the premier, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. The meeting was devoted to the country's sociopolitical and economic situation. A communique will be published in tomorrow's press.

Communique Issued

LD180926 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0703 GMT 18 Sep 81

[Text of communique issued by the Council of Ministers on 18 September]

[Text] The Concil of Ministers held a session on 14 and 17 September. The current, extraordinary complicated and dangerous political, social and economic situation in the country was examined. This situation has been seriously exacerbated due to the first round of the NSZZ Solidarity delegates' congress and resolutions adopted at it; resolutions which amount to a de facto rejection of the offer of constructive cooperation and to provoking a confrontation, the consequences of which are dangerous. The situation over the past few days bears witness to this. It is highlighted by the spreading flashpoints of various tensions and conflicts. The fact that many delegates endorsed the inflammatory resolutions of the national congress only fuels this situation. The first round of the NSZZ Solidarity delegates' congress was dominated by representatives of Solidarity's full-time officials who already number tens of thousnads. A considerable proportion of them have rampant political ambitions. This part of the apparatus is not interested in real trade union work, since it is taking over power, which happens to be its main desire.

The congress was influenced by groups of union activists who, in fact, are instrumental in blocking the government's efforts to get the country out of the crisis and to carry out essential reforms. Proclaiming lofty slogans, these people, at the same time, quite deliberately spread anarchy in the sociopolitical life, proceeding from the assumption that the more difficult the situation gets, the easier it becomes to make use of the potential of social dissatisfaction to fight the government, the state apparatus and the economic administration.

Activists and experts officially stated at first that they could not take part in activities aimed at overcoming the crisis because the government had not drawn up a report about the state of the economy. Thus, they do not know the situation and real needs of the country. The government presented such a report. It has been around for a long time. Instead of adopting a stance on their own conclusions, the authorities next heard that Solidarity was unable to play a part in overcoming the crisis because there was no government program on this matter. the government had drawn up such a program. The Sejm accepted it unanimously. And in this instance, too, the Solidarity leadership did not adopt a stance on the merits of the case. The key to making use of the potential of industry and activating the purchasing of agricultural products and improving the country's balance of payments, in other words, improving the everyday living conditions of the public, lies in increasing coal extraction. Solidarity links have for a long time been boycotting activities aimed at increasing coal extraction and at coal mines being exploited 6 days a week. A demand was made at that time, in particular, for Saturday work, even with the benefits, to be eliminated. It was claimed that if miners work a 5-day week extraction would be even greater. The promises turned out to be without cover. The Solidarity appeal for eight additional Saturdays is not producing sufficient results either. And when the government recently approved new social and wage privileges for miners, Solidarity links strove to frustrate these latest efforts by the authorities by mounting a demagogic opposition campaign. This is the motley role of the trade union which opposes the granting of additional benefits to working people and is paralyzing the resolution of this problem which is vital for the national economy.

A good example of destructive deeds can also be found in the illegal blocking of certain kinds of export. This makes trade operations, which help to improve supplies to the population, more difficult and leads to the loss of markets and undermines the credibility of Poland as a trade partner.

The implementation of the economic reform, too, is being made more difficult by the fact that the problems of self-management are being turned into an arena for political struggle. The party and state authorities initiated, and strongly support, the idea and practice of workers' self-management. During the first part of Solidarity's congress, the obvious truth was negated. Attempts are being made to impose upon society the view that the economic reform being prepared by the government and the draft laws on state enterprise and workers' self-management, which have been submitted to the Sejm, aim, essentially, at counteracting any and all changes and to nip workers' self-management in the bud.

The statement, contained in a resolution passed by the Solidarity congress, and in the latest statement of the National Consultative Commission [KKP], to the effect that the government is trying to preserve the principles by which directoral posts are filled--principles which have been in force until now--is clearly not in line with the truth and aims at confusing public opinion and setting the working people against the economic reform program. In reality, however, the government proposals create full possibilities for the workforces to influence in an effective manner the selection of leading cadres in enterprises.

The Council of Ministers stated that numerous Solidarity activists attack and exert pressure on the expert leading cadres and technical supervision staff, thereby disrupting the functioning of economic units.

It is becoming more difficult for the cadres to fulfill their basic duties. At a time when the state authorities are making concrete efforts to safeguard the public against the consequences of the coming winter, to improve supplies and to take care of the basic needs of families, various Solidarity activists are undermining the effectiveness of these efforts by strike and protest actions, by creating tensions and by weakening discipline.

The government bodies and authorities at all levels are going through a complicated process of profound reorganization, reforms, and reduction of the apparatus of officials. Requirements in ministries and in the voivodship authorities are increasing. Control checks into the way the state apparatus functions are becoming ever more stringent and effective, and this will continue.

The government will do everything possible to combat bad management and wastefulness, to eliminate the evil of bureaucratic practice and shortcomings in the way in which the apparatus subordinate to it functions. However, unjustified, incessant accusations against, pressures upon and campaigns against the authorities make these processes more difficult. Members of Solidarity also work in the state administration and the government apparatus. Because of their duties, they must be subordinate to the state.

In the light of the national congress' resolutions and the entire antigovernment campaign waged by Solidarity, their situation becomes ambiguous and must be defined by they themselves. Representatives of the confrontation tendency within the Solidarity apparatus also frustrate the efforts of the Council of Ministers' Committee Trade Union Affairs to establish partnerlike relations. They boycott the terms of reference of agreements; they wipe out results of negotiations by putting forward new, exaggerated demands which are more and more often political.

Thus, attempts to work out measures jointly to improve the life of the population are being destroyed, since the politicized section of Solidarity's apparatus shows interest only in those plans which serve to undermine the state's prerogatives.

Demands to exercise independent control over production and distribution of foodstuffs, instead of joint work to improve supplies of food for the nation and participation in social control, serve as an example of this.

Destabilization of the state internally is accompanied by the undermining of our international alliances.

The message to working people in Eastern Europe constitutes an irresponsible interference in the internal affairs of other socialist states, violates the principles of Polish foreign policy and strikes a blow against the Polish raison d'etat.

If one adds to this the whole, extensive anti-Soviet campaign, the adventurism of activities of this kind becomes obvious. It endangers the state's independent existence, its stable frontiers and European equilibrium which was shaped as a consequence of the World War II, the Potsdam Treaty and the postwar development. It also strikes against economic policy the aim of which is to improve the living conditions of society. After all, of key importance here is the assistance given to us by the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, particularly in the sphere of satisfying vital raw material needs.

The first part of the Solidarity congress confirmed the fears which the state authorities expressed on many occasions when observing the individual actions of Solidarity activists with an attitude based on confrontation. The public was warned that the central leading organs and part of the local organs of this union are waging a struggle for power in Poland and that they are not respecting the Solidarity statute by engaging in political activity aimed against socialism. Official representatives of the union have denied these assessments.

The resolutions of the Gdansk congress lent credibility to the government's assessments and confirmed the confrontation-minded and antisocialist course of the extremist forces of Solidarity. today, the intention of the Solidarity leadership to gradually take over power is obvious. This is no longer a supposition; this is not a hidden intention but an action that became overt by virtue of the Gdansk deliberations.

The broad masses of Solidarity members and perhaps even some of the activists are not aware of how dangerous a political game for the country they have been drawn into and entangled in as a result of the gigantic manipulation within Solidarity by groups of the political opposition. It is high time, and this is the last chance, that they dissociate themselves from this line.

The incessant actions against the authorities, actions which are often at variance with the law, the provocations against socialism and anti-Soviet and antistate activities are presented as individual antics. However, it can already be seen today that this is the political line that has been foisted onto links of the union. It is in this direction that it is trying to influence young people by using their lack of experience, gullibility and emotion. The government is counting on the fact that educators and parents will try to prevent this harm which exposes the peaceful future of the young generation to danger.

Particular indignation is evoked by the anti-Soviet campaign, the atmosphere of which is prompting certain young people to desecrate the graves of the Soviet soldiers who died for Poland. Desecration of the graves is tantamount to desecrating Poland's good name. Those who fan anti-Soviet hysteria and with blind hatred distort public consciousness bear great responsibility.

It is the duty of the government and all organs of the people's power to defend resolutely the socialist state and the basic interests of the country and the nation against the threat created by the forces of counterrevolution.

At the same time, the Council of Ministers concluded that the struggle against Solidarity's extreme wing is, at this moment, simultaneously, a struggle to preserve the course of socialist renewal, an action that defends the economic reform, strengthens democracy and develops self-managment. There is no sensible alternative to this direction. The government will strengthen and enrich it. It is its sincere intention to establish trust and understanding with society, with working people, will all realistically-minded patriots, Solidarity's mass membership included.

A policy of this kind should, at the same time, erect barriers in the path of counterrevolutionary threats. However, any agreement with forces that bank on confrontation and on undermining the socialist principles of the system is ruled out. These forces must encounter, and encounter they will, a resolute rebuff from the authorities and society.

The government shares the assessments contained in the statement of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and states that should an overriding necessity arise it will not shirk from making use of all means that accord with the state prerogatives.

The Council of Ministers has set appropriate tasks for the subordinate organs. The situation in the country necessitates these tasks, the Council of Ministers concluded.

The government has examined concrete measures, the carrying out of which may turn out to be essential to defend socialism and the basic interests of Polish state and nation.

MEETING OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIAT ENDS

LD171724 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] A 2-day conference of the Central Committee Secretariat with first secretaries of PZPR voivodship committees and heads of Central Committee departments held at the Central Committee has ended. The current socioeconomic situation in the country was assessed and there was discussion fo the conclusions emerging from it for party echelons and organizations. Reports were read by Politburo members and Central Committee Secretaries Kazimierz Barcikowski, Miroslaw Milewski and Stefan Olszowski. The conference was chaired and the discussion summed up by Central Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Kania.

REACTION TO PZPR POLITBURO SOLIDARITY STATEMENT

Solidarity Criticism

LD171842 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Press spokesman of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity Janusz Onyszkiewicz had made a statement arguing with the assessment contained in the 16 September Politburo statement of the causes of the conflict which has been growing for several weeks. Onyszkiewicz made this statement with the authorization of the KKP Presidium.

More on TU Statement

LD172052 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Press spokesman of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity Janusz Onyszkiewicz published a statement today in the name of the KKP Presidium, which makes a critical assessment of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo statement issued yesterday, asserting that it is--and I quote--a demonstration of a lack of realism.

In the opinion of the KKP spokesman, the real object of the conflict lies in the activities undertaken by Solidarity in the face of the progressive ruin of the economy. He includes in these activities the demand for social control of production, resources and the distribution of articles of primary necessity, and the demand for self-governing reform. The statement recalls the conceptions of economic solutions proposed by Solidarity with regard to the assurance of competent management for enterprises and the need to end the [political] administration of work enterprises [zaprzestania dyrygowania zakladami pracy]. The statement also recalled the reasons why the union cannot give up the struggle for authentic regional self-government [autentyczny samorzad terytorialny]. The statement ends with an appeal to working people for unity and calm.

Bratkowski Open Letter

LD171910 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1600 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] This morning we reported on one of the toughest verdicts so far on the Polish free trade union Solidarity in a sharp statement by the Communist Party Politburo. Confirming the alarm at a total confrontation, a dramatic appeal was made today in an open letter to the authorities and to the Polish people. A compromise is needed to avoid a bloodbath, that is the message. Behind the letter is one of the most influential people in the game behind the scenes, the Chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists' Stefan Bratkowski. Over to Warsaw:

[Begin correspondent Mika Larsson recording] We must not permit ourselves, Stefan Bratkowski writes, to be seized by madness and hatred. Anybody who attempts to grab at power, coercion and violence to solve our problems will be cursed for centuries. He indirectly warns of the risk of a bloodbath and appeals: We must talk with each other. A compromise is possible.

With his unusually good channels into all camps, Bratkowski must be regarded as one of the best observers of the situation in Poland. Next to prominent representatives of the church he has repeatedly stepped in as an active and successful mediator. As a journalist he has also always seen it as his task to try to build a bridge between the distrustful Polish people, gathered in Solidarity, and the new pro-reform forces within his party. He played a significant role in the growth of the party base's revolt last winter, a revolt which in the end led to the historic party congress in July. He has also received many death threats for his activities, and on a couple of occasions persons in the party leadership have demanded his expulsion. In view of Bratkowski's unusually good vantage point his dramatic open letter must be taken seriously.

The catastrophe of open conflict is no way out, he writes. It does not testify to courage, it testifies to stupidity, and he asks everybody to remember the everyday reality of war. Bratkowski says in the letter that he speaks for the Catholic Church and also for the most prominent intellectuals in the country. He addresses himself to the leaders in Poland. The representatives of power must realize, he says, that is no longer possible to govern as before. The people will not give up their demand for coresponsibility, and those who champion the people's demands, he continues, must realize that the half a million people in the power apparatus have access to the extreme means of force--that is, weapons--but also within the power apparatus there are quite a few good trade unionists who can well serve the country, and they are also Poles with a right to live and work in Poland.

And Stefan Bratkowski proposes a compromise to the two sides, to the country's foremost brains--as he puts it--in new attempts to reach a solution by discussion. Our collective wisdom, he says, means life and [words indistinct]. Stupidity would mean death and catastrophe. [end recording]

'Playing With Fire'

LD172104 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski made a speech today at Nowa Huta at a district party conference. It is from Nowa Huta that he received his mandate of delegate to the ninth party congress. We now give you chosen minutes from the long speech lasting close to 2 hours which was given by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who discussed the present situation in Poland. This is an excerpt which in the view of our Krakow reporter reflects the whole speech in the best possible manner.

[Begin recording] I would be all for it if the leaders of Solidarity gave a little broader thought to their duties and reflected about which road they wish to push us onto [passage indistinct]. None of us has used the term "opponents" against Solidarity people. This is a tactical [word indistinct]. But if they propose to us the term "opponents" then perhaps it will be necessary to accept it. After all one cannot turn one's cheek (?to be slapped) here.

I hope that the leaders of Solidarity will not follow a course which is defined by that message, because that is a bad course. It leads to setting us against all the socialist countries. In any case the socialist countries will not agree to changes being carried out in Poland which disturb the alignment of forces which arose as a result of Potsdam and Yalta. Second, do not those who write such messages understand that they are playing with fire? That quite simply they are playing with our sovereignty? After all certain rules exist in this world. A certain alignment of forces is in existence. Who will agree to this alignment of forces being changed--an alignment of forces, which despite all the uncertainties, ensures that we have peace [word indistinct]? How can one play about thus with the fate of the Polish nation? Why is this being done? Who wants to derive benefit from this and what do they want to gain? A new [word indistinct]? New monuments? Hasn't there been enough of this in the past? This is not a road along which [words indistinct]. I would like to believe that there still exists a possibility to step back, to turn back, from this road. And if not then [word indistinct] will judge this. [end recording]

Rakowski Views Statement

LD172224 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] A regional conference of the Nowa Huta party organization was held today. The conference was attended by Deputy Chairman Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Chairman of the Central Board of the Polish Scout Union Jerzy Jaskiernia, and others.

Taking the floor during the discussion, Deputy Chairman Rakowski spoke about the country's social and political situation and presented his stand regarding the PZPR Central Committee Politburo statement published recently.

He said, among other things: This statement is a reply to the new political situation that has arisen as a result of the first round of the Solidarity congress. The party had to take a stand regarding the documents adopted at the congress, as well as a stand regarding the discussion and lines of Solidarity activity, which calls itself a social force and not a trade union. Sharp, brutal, frank fragments of the statement can cause reservations for many citizens but I think, Deputy Chairman Rakowski said, that the party has the right and duty to call a spade a spade.

The delegates present at the conference in Nowa Huta addressed letters to the PZPR Central Committee Politburo in which they expressed their support for the statement published yesterday and its stance and assessment of the political situation.

ZBOWID Supports Statement

LD172158 Warsaw PAP in English 2028 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Sep (PAP)--The main council of Poles, former soldiers of the Soviet Army at the Central Board of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, ZBOWID, has approved a resolution which expresses alarm and disquiet over the deteriorating socio-political situation in the country.

"We hoped," says the resolution," that at the 1st congress of Solidarity reason and the working class spirit will gain the upper hand in that, according to its statute, trade union organisation and that, consequently, the organization will join in the constructive honest work for the good of our motherland. But the opposite has taken place. A group of political adventurists, posing as top Solidarity leaders, has imposed a line of political opposition long cherished by the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] ringleaders, determined to deepen chaos and disintegration and combat the socialist system in our motherland."

"In the present situation," the resolution goes on," there is no room for adventurism, lawlessness anarchy and strikes of all kinds. We want peace, order and honest work to lift the country from the present crisis."

"We fully support hte statement of the PUWP CC Political Bureau of 16th September. At the same time, we resolutely declare that war veterans, members of the ZBOWID organization whose sweat and blood underlie the foundations of Poland's liberty and independence are determined to defend the socialist motherland in any situation by every means depending on the situation."

TRYBUNA LUDU HITS SOLIDARITY ON SELF-GOVERNMENT

AU171618 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Sep 81 p 3

[Krzysztof Krauss article: "Dispute About Self-Government--Who Is Dealing False Cards?"]

[Excerpts] Our report on the Third Central Committee Plenum was entitled "The Party Is for Workers' Self-Government as a Permanent Element of Socialist Democracy." These were not idle words. They were justified by the Central Committee resolution, the plenum discussion and primarily by the entire post-August policy, a basic tenet of which is recorded in the ninth congress resolution: "Under the conditions of the socialized ownership of production means, self-government should ensure for citizens the right to make joint decisions on joint issues."

But in the Oliwia arena in Gdansk, the following appeal-resolution was adopted: "the delegates to the first Solidarity congress appeal to Solidarity members and all workers to defend workers' self-government.

"Frightened by the prospects for developing and consolidating self-government, the authorities are trying to nip it in the bud (....) We stress most strongly that should the self-government bill be adopted in a form that substantially differs from workers' expectations (that is, from the shape of self-government envisaged by Solidarity--Krauss), Solidarity will be forced to boycott the law and take the measures to ensure free activities by genuine self-government groups."

How are self-government groups to be "nipped in the bud?" The Solidarity congress resolution states that the authorities want to deprive self-government groups of the right to appoint and relieve factory managers, which means that workforces are to be excluded from genuine factory management.

This is so blatantly false that we could ignore it but for the fact that persistent lies begin to live their own lives. At the third plenum the Politburo took this position: "In line with the enterprise bill (the so-called government bill--Krauss), the founding body will appoint the factory manager from among the candidates listed by the relevant commission. Before a candidate is appointed manager, his candidacy must be coordinated with the self-government group, because only a manager who is accepted by the workforce is able to correctly implement self-government resolutions."

Who is it that is dealing false cards in this "game for self-government?" Is it the party, whose position toward the comprehensive economic reform and its extensive self-government of workforces is clear and presented without ambiguity against a broad background of problems that call for solutions by the common efforts of all of us, while observing the constitutional principle that in socialist Poland it is the working people in urban and rural areas that exercise full sovereign power? Or is it those Solidarity officials who want to cut "self-government" and the entire "reform" to a single proposition: to reduce or perhaps to eliminate the participation of the state, which represents all the people, in the processes of strategically running the country's socioeconomic policy, in particular to eliminate any form of partnership among the bodies that participate on behalf of and on the authority of the state in the process of the personnel policy concerning key administrative posts in the economy?

A common game played by those who hide behind the name of a massive trade union organization of the working people, and who are trying to achieve their own political ends, is an element of that important issue. Those political aims are being openly stated with increasing frequency: "Because Solidarity," Jacek Kuron, an "expert" of the National Consultative Commission, said, "cannot organize a new system of power and because this system has to be organized by all the people, it is necessary to set up a new organization for government; but this must not be a party, only a self-government movement, which will act as an organization for running the economy, factories and regions. The struggle for self-government must become a fundamental struggle for us."

Solidarity Deputy Chairman Andrzej Gwiazda put it even more clearly: "As for Solidarity's position on self-government, it has surely been quite clear from the very beginning, which is not changed by the fact that initially Solidarity checked the self-government movement in order to prevent it from moving along its own channel, to ensure that it gets a move ahead as soon as Solidarity has somehow been consolidated and as soon as some views on the subject have crystallized in Solidarity activities, and to ensure that it becomes our movement and not theirs."

This means not only that society is organized "for defense against the authorities--all kinds of authorities," as Jacek Kuron said in a BBC interview on 6 September, but also that the political forces hostile to our system have attempted to conquer the first bridgehead of power. The next stage of such attempts is taking over the People's Councils and the Sejm, as Jacek Kuron told the BBC man. "This revolution is proceeding in this way," Jacek Kuron (BBC presented him to its listeners as a "longstanding member of democratic opposition") said in that interview, "and there is no other way and no return. The problem is how to achieve all that."

But that self-government is not to be "ours" or "theirs" or "someone else's." It is to be the self-government of workforces which run the economy in their own country.

DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEWS RAKOWSKI ON SOLIDARITY

DW160916 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 14 Sep 81 pp 142-152

[Rudolf Augstein, Katerina Horbatsch, Klaus Reinhardt and Dieter Wild interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish deputy premier, in Warsaw; date not given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Mr Rakowski, up to now the Solidarity trade union has apparently confined itself to Poland in its demands. But now the Gdansk trade union congress has addressed a message to the workers in the neighboring socialist states in which they are called upon to follow the Polish example. Solidarity is thus seeking to bring its influence to bear on or maybe also to gain support from the other socialist countries....

Rakowski: ...Yes, this appeal to the peoples of the socialist countries is certainly a new phenomenon.

SPIEGEL: The movement, which in the West as well as in the East is being followed with close attention and to a degree also with hopes, has gathered new momentum. How do you assess this new development?

Rakowski: I must say that as far as we are concerned, it is still too early to make a broad assessment of the appeal. It must be taken into account that only the first round of the congress has taken place. Nevertheless, I have no doubt that the appeal has created a new situation for Solidarity as well as for Poland and the socialist countries. Criticism of Solidarity in these countries will undoubtedly become even stronger. The appeal was born in a climate of open anti-Soviet propaganda launched by a substantial number of Solidarity organizations.

SPIEGEL: What could the consequences be?

Rakowski: It may place us--the government team, which would like to pursue a line of understanding--into a difficult and even more complicated situation.

SPIEGEL: There is the impression in the West that, to quote Lenin, a "dual leadership" exists in the Polish People's Republic. The party wants to maintain its leading role, but it is precisely this leading role which is being challenged by Solidarity. History teaches that such a dual leadership cannot last for long. One of the two sides must eventually prevail.

Rakowski: I share your view. There can be no doubt that certain components of a dual leadership already exist in Poland and these components must be taken seriously. The course of the trade union congress shows that the Solidarity leadership even wants to strengthen the existing components of the dual leadership. It is absolutely clear that such a state of affairs cannot last for long and that the question must be clarified regarding who actually is to hold power in Poland.

After all, at the congress in Gdansk there is talk of the need to seize power. Granted, this was only discussed, but it is something we must pay attention to.

SPIEGEL: Has the time of compromises and understanding passed?

Rakowski: Our current situation could be described as follows: The line of understanding is running into that of confrontation and it seems to me that we are entering into an area of social psychology.

SPIEGEL: Do you mean on the part of the trade union?

Rakowski: According to my assessment, a tendency toward confrontation is growing very rapidly within Solidarity, but it is also growing on the other side--in a large number of party organizations as well as in the state and economic administration.

SPIEGEL: But why is this tendency toward confrontation growing?

Rakowski: For a year now this large social machine, which is made up of hundreds of thousands of people, is confronted with constant pressure from Solidarity. Let us take, for example, the voivodship governors. They had to cope daily with pressure brought to bear by Solidarity. And often this pressure is exerted by demagogues. Now they are simply tired. There are voivodship governors who would like to quit immediately.

SPIEGEL: But this is only 49 top functionaries...

Rakowski: ...The directors of the enterprises are also exposed to constant pressure brought to bear by trade union demands. They, like many other people, are also driven into the corner each day. Constant demands, which are reminiscent in spirit and sometimes also in letter of the great Chinese Cultural Revolution, have tired the technical cadres. They feel insecure. This, of course, is grossly simplified. On the one hand, these cadres naturally lose their patience with Solidarity and, on the other, are striving for a clarification of the situation. What they would like to know is whether or not they are a trade union or whether they are even an opposition.

SPIEGEL: Or a parallel government.

Rakowski: Yes, in this respect the conditions of political power have changed considerably during the past few months. For instance, Walesa meets with disapproval if as before he now stresses that he considers Solidarity to be a trade union. The radicals suspect him of being a stinking opportunist because every time the principal issue--the power issue--is at stake, they are held in check by him; on the oth r hand, he has also maintained sometimes that if he were given the opportunity to say how Poland should be organized, he would be able to do so immediately. Then everything would look much better the next day. There is quite a bit of populism in this.

SPIEGEL: Thus you rather consider him to be an element of stability to the extent that such a flowing movement can have stability?

Rakowski: Perhaps, though with many reservations. I consider him to be more of an element of stability than of destruction. But you must be aware that Walesa is one of those leaders in whom one can never place full trust. He says one thing today and something else tomorrow. For instance, Walesa has lately begun to speak of the power of the trade union. Maybe he is seeking to curry favor with the radicals.

SPIEGEL: Couldn't it be possible as well that the movement, whose figurehead he is, is pressing him into a direction he actually does not want to take?

Rakowski: That could certainly be the case. Yes, you can say that this man is made up of a mixture of various views. He certainly is an outstanding tactician.

He certainly is clever. We once had a discussion in which the founding of the SOLIDARNOSC magazine was at stake. He then came to me and said: Well, Mr Premier, you know that as soon as we have this paper, all the other little papers with the evil writings will disappear immediately. I will take care of that.

Then he got the SOLIDARNOSC newspaper, but the little papers continued to develop. What he now tells me is: As soon as we have access to the mass media, the situation in Poland will improve immediately. This, he says, was his very last demand...

SPIEGEL: ...You mean in fact just the next to last demand again?

Rakowski (laughing): Yes, the next to last. That is his method. He deals the same way with his Solidarity adversaries.

It is his tactic to take one bit after another, to take one step after another without having an exact program. Blurred concepts and great words, but also persistence in striving toward the goal. For which one?

SPIEGEL: Regardless of what one thinks of Walesa's salami tactics, he has always managed to keep the support of Solidarity's majority or to be with the majority.

Rakowski: Yes, that describes the case most exactly. But when you mention Solidarity's majority and its support for Walesa, you must not see just the delegates and the leadership but also the masses at the bottom. The congress proceedings showed that strong opposition against him exists there, be it for factual or personal reasons.

SPIEGEL: Is this opposition from the left or the right, if one can still use this cliche?

Rakowski: Opposition comes from both directions. Walesa is also being criticized because he is a dictator--naturally not in the classical sense of the words, but because he tries to force through his own opinion. He is also being criticized by the radicals for whom peace means political death. Another factor is that Walesa also says that the struggle has just begun.

SPIEGEL: Mr Rakowski, next to the independent trade union there are also other phenomena which context the party's power monopoly, phenomena that have not appeared in any other socialist country: free party congress elections, strikes and curtailment of censorship. Is Poland still a socialist country in the conventional sense of the word?

Rakowski: Please forgive me, but that is a typical question from a professor and probably comes from the discussions of professors in Germany. It leads us to the theoretical consideration of what socialism is and is not. We believe at any rate that the implementation of our program does not contain any deviation from socialism. We much rather consider it a return to the origins of socialism. A change in political conditions of power does not necessarily mean a change of the system. I want to clarify the misunderstanding here that the conditions of power have already changed to the disadvantage of the party. I said that interesting changes are taking place in this balance of power.

SPIEGEL: Since Lenin's time the leading role of the party has been one of the inevitable principles of the socialist states. This leading role has been called into question in Poland if not already severely damaged.

Rakowski: Some powers have indeed called this role into question. One ought to consider replacing the leading role of the party by the expression "leading role of socialist ideology." If we believe it is time to put an end to the dogmatic interpretation of the one party system--in Poland, naturally, under our concrete conditions--this does not mean that we would give up the leading role of our ideology and of our position.

SPIEGEL: Can the leading role of the party be ensured if there are several parties?

Rakowski: Yes, that is the situation in Poland. I am long of the opinion that we communists are in a good position to govern together with two traditional parties existing in Poland: the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. There is no doubt that we have not treated these parties as equals for years. But if we undertake the task of renovating our system, we can consider these parties as partners with equal rights.

SPIEGEL: How can you if they were not equal partners before? Solidarity says that the party has upset the cart and that Solidarity is supposed to set it up again. It does not think that the United Peasant Party or the Democratic Party could do this.

Rakowski: So what? Even if they think like that--I as a politician with a concept can make efforts to implement it.

SPIEGEL: How could that help in the current situation?

Rakowski: The current party structures can be changed and developed. In other parties there are also people with highly developed political ambitions. They have demonstrated a high degree of independence from us in past months. That does not worry us.

SPIEGEL: How can the leading role of the party remain guaranteed if room is given for free forces to develop?

Rakowski: By recognizing socialist development in Poland as being a basic factor. I have to ask you a question here: Do you consider Solidarity to be a socialist movement?

SPIEGEL: No, much rather an opposition party, a de facto opposition.

Rakowski: Well, this brings us closer to the central problem in Poland.

SPIEGEL: What would you do if Solidarity strikes the formulation about the leading role of the party from its statutes?

Rakowski: I was asked this question yesterday at a meeting with workers. I said that it is still too early to answer that. Then I quoted a well-known Russian proverb which says approximately the following when translated: We will live and we will see.

SPIEGEL: Which means in good Russian: qui vivra, verra.

Rakowski: Yes. An elimination of this formulation would certainly create a new situation in Poland. The political crisis would deepen. But maybe it is also good that the political situation would be clarified and that an end would be made to the game of charades.

SPIEGEL: What do you have to say about another formulation that was used at the trade union congress: "We stand in a revolution whose main force is Solidarity." According to communist ideology, however, the party leads the revolution. Consequently any revolution, whose main force Solidarity claims to be, would be some sort of a counterrevolution?

Rakowski: Maybe. The question would then come up again as to whether we accept the concept of an evolutionary development of socialism or the concept outlined at the congress. It does not matter now whether we use the terms revolution of counterrevolution. Every kind of semantic consideration is of little use here. Practice will be decisive. If the Solidarity leaders raise the power problem even more aggressively, we will face a phase of confrontation. The political situation must be fully clarified.

SPIEGEL: You said that it depends on practice. But practice has shown in several cases that the government was dependent on the authority of this trade union when strikes had to be avoided, or in connection with the prison revolt in Bydgoszcz a few days ago. How do you feel as the government if you have to appeal to the good will of such a force?

Rakowski: No one contests that Solidarity has a very strong position in Polish society. We see nothing special in our appeals to Solidarity when conflicts arise which we consider as unnecessary. Now we say "no" more often that we did before. Regarding the Bydgoszcz incident, negotiations with Solidarity took place only in the initial phase. Contacts were discontinued when it voiced unacceptable demands.

SPIEGEL: You say yourself that Solidarity is a significant social force in this country. In other words, it cannot play the role you want it to play, namely that of being merely a trade union; it cannot play this role under present circumstances, even if it wanted to.

Rakowski: I wouldn't say that because today--that is after 1 year--Solidarity is a mixture of various tendencies. In addition, it can be a trade union and simultaneously a social force.

SPIEGEL: The same applies to the party.

Rakowski: So what? What is the result? One must not consider Solidarity a closed unit.

SPIEGEL: An organization with almost 10 million members...

Rakowski: ...8 million to be exact.

SPIEGEL: The figure is not so important. Whenever the problem comes up as to whether there will be a general strike or not, you have a partner in the person of Mr Walesa as the spokesman of Solidarity, whether he has been elected or not. His authority is enough to prevent a general strike in the whole country.

Rakowski: That is uncertain. That is how it was, but even Walesa does not know how it is now.

SPIEGEL: Because Solidarity, in contrast to the Communist Party, does not have a central power in Poland. It has always said: We want some democratization of the organization; all regional leaders who occupy their positions by chance can help. That is a democratic process.

Rakowski: You have made a great error there. The leadership team of Solidarity has become a group of totalitarians, much faster than it was in our case. No spontaneity exists there. Actions are being clearly directed from one side.

SPIEGEL: So we have the strange phenomenon of a country with a Communist Party and a dictator who does not belong to the Communist Party.

Rakowski (laughing): That's it. Take the Solidarity congress as an example. There are delegates who have not been elected but appointed. Our party congress was more democratic.

SPIEGEL: Recently?

Rakowski: Recently.

SPIEGEL: Do you think, for example, that Solidarity would be entitled to help in an economic reform?

Rakowski: Naturally. But our concept of partnership, my concept of partnership, is actually experiencing a defeat now. The "no" philosophy has become the starting point for the Solidarity leaders. Their first answer to every one of our suggestions is no.

SPIEGEL: Do you see a time when this "no" period began?

Rakowski: I think that it began late this spring.

SPIEGEL: You know the reason why. The workers, the populace, fear that the party will make empty promises again as in 1956 and in 1970. Solidarity is profiting from deteriorating confidence in the current system.

Rakowski: Certainly the past and the fact that the people were discontent in the past, all this plays a great role. But gentlemen, Poland was not just garbage in the seventies, as you said.

SPIEGEL: We did not.

Rakowski: Yes, I know, you quoted an opinion expressed by Solidarity. The starting point of Solidarity was the assumption that everything that existed before was bad. Because of society's displeasure in the late seventies, this thesis was generally accepted and became the most important political weapon for Solidarity in the fight against the communists.

SPIEGEL: That may all be true. But the government says, we offer you partnership, and Solidarity says, we do not trust your offer.

Rakowski: Yes, that is correct. But tell me, how long can one shape political and social conditions in a country without contributing a minimum of confidence? When does the mistrust become destructive?

SPIEGEL: Has the government actually always been honest?

Rakowski: Even if it was not always honest--but for heaven's sake this country is entirely different from what it was a year ago. Decisive changes have taken place. But they must not make fools of us. The team which governs at present knows quite well that there is no backing away from this line. It is the line of extensive reform which may alter a large number of those values previously considered untouchable. The only thing is that this must be a process of evolution. If the Solidarity leaders always say "no" in view of such radical changes, then we must raise the question about their intentions and goals.

SPIEGEL: The following dialectics can be found quite often in history: There have been shortcomings, and a new movement arises and one interacts with this new movement. Then the movement's goals change and its leaders let themselves be swept along with the flood of developments.

Rakowski: This is the point. At present the leaders of Solidarity find themselves in a particularly difficult situation. If they were to propose a "yes" program, it would turn out that they are actually the prisoners of their own "no" program.

SPIEGEL: But what happens if they make their proposals concrete? Here is an example: The workers self-management. What is the government's answer to the proposals of the trade union? No, it does not work the way you see it. We are also not ready to discuss the matter because this touches on the principles of socialism.

Rakowski: None of us has ever said that we were not ready for discussion because this touches on the principles of socialism. None of us ever said this. What matters in the quarrel about the workers self-management is solely the way in which directors are to be appointed. Solidarity is of the view that the state no longer is to be granted the right to appoint a director, not even if the state takes the views of the personnel into account. What is at stake in this case is primarily power.

SPIEGEL: Party chief Kania has said: "The ideas of Solidarity about the workers self-management create property for groups, and property for groups is impossible in a socialist system."

Rakowski: That's correct. Solidarity itself has withdrawn this proposal and admitted that it was foolish. What do the leaders of Solidarity offer today? Nothing but a program of abstention.

SPIEGEL: Has the party something better to offer and is it doing so?

Rakowski: The party says: Well, things are bad, and this or that must be done so that things get better. Not general formulations but very concrete proposals are involved. Is this a program? Yes, it is in my view.

SPIEGEL: And it is this constructive aspect that you don't find in large parts of Solidarity?

Rakowski: I will cite you an example: The economic reform. It is supposed to be a reform which will bring about a total change in the way of guiding and administrating production in Poland and there must be genuine preparations for it. This requires months of work by the country's best minds. What was the answer of Solidarity? The government is deliberately not introducing the reform because it wants to return to the "good old days."

The alleged delay in the economic reform was used to forge the principal reproach against the government and at the same time the main illusion for the masses. They were told: As soon as the reform is introduced, things will become better from one day to the next, although the economic reform in its initial stage means, above all, that sacrifices must be made and that a deterioration in the working people's material situation will occur.

SPIEGEL: But in this respect Solidarity and the party are actually in the same boat.

Rakowski: Of course. This reform means that an enterprise can simply be shut down and that people lose their jobs. Then there would no longer be idleness, shirking and quasi-work during working hours because the reform introduces cruel economic principles. But our society is not prepared to accept these principles. For one and one-half generations it has been raised under quite different conditions. Who talks about this? We do, not Solidarity.

SPIEGEL: Do you consider its demands much too extreme? This applies for instance to the unrestricted right to strike which amounts to a right to strike for political reasons as well?

Rakowski: The right to strike under any conditions--this is not a maximum demand but an anarchic demand.

SPIEGEL: Solidarity wants to introduce referendums which so far do not exist in any socialist system. Will you accept this?

Rakowski: I believe that the proposal to hold a referendum means to raise the question of power. Thus this goes too far.

SPIEGEL: Solidarity has ideas of its own about the economic reform and the workers self-management which are not simply stated with a "no." They are merely not in line with the government's views.

Rakowski: Not only are they not in line with the views of the government, they also are proposals emanating from the spirit of struggle against socialism and not from the spirit of cooperation. We are beating around the bush now all the time. What matters is whether or not this state is supposed to exist. This is what matters. One must not fool oneself. Can you imagine that a seizure of power will occur and that Walesa, Gwiazda, Kuron, Michnik and his colleagues will seize power?

SPIEGEL: No.

Rakowski: I am not thinking of Soviet intervention, but of the possibility that there might be bloodshed. It would be an oversimplification to assume that the people and all of Solidarity would stand on one side, whereas the state authority in the form of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers would stand on the other. It is not that simple.

SPIEGEL: Thus you believe that Solidarity is using topical controversial issues to assume power?

Rakowski: We don't assume that. They themselves say it quite clearly. Just read what they are writing.

SPIEGEL: Kuron and Michnik cannot assume power at every enterprise. Do you really believe that the two want to assume power at all?

Rakowski: Why not? We are speaking now about Kuron and Michnik as concepts, not persons.

SPIEGEL: Mr Rakowski, you have known the two men for 20 years now and you know that they wage their revolution in the cafe of the "Europejski" Hotel...

Rakowski: I do not share your opinion. If I were in their place and had observed that the state power had been pushed back step by step, then I do not know whether or not I would think that I could assume all the power now. We will soon issue a white paper which will prove that this accusation is not unfounded.

SPIEGEL: You don't have to convince us. You must convince large sections of the Polish people and, at the same time, make it clear to your allies that Poland will not break out of the system of socialist states.

Rakowski: Your remark is absolutely right. Indeed, the main question must be how to convince most of the people that we are guided by well understood Polish interests. Our situation became even more difficult through the economic crisis. If here and now a magician were to appear who would fill the shop shelves--and if this were done consistently for a period of 2 weeks--then 75 percent of the annoyance would disappear immediately.

SPIEGEL: But for how long?

Rakowski: Certainly not for a short while. What we observe among the people is a process which I would term a return to realism. There can be no doubt that criticism of Solidarity has increased and this criticism, interestingly enough, is also voiced by members of Solidarity. A very high degree of fatigue has apparently been reached among the people. This does not mean, however, that this constitutes a breakthrough. I caution everybody making fanfares immediately. This can't be done for at least 10 years.

SPIEGEL: Does this mean that the party and government hope to gain time?

Rakowski: Yes, of course. What the party and government need most at the moment is a lot of patience.

SPIEGEL: The supply situation, which was dramatic already at the outset of the crisis, has continuously deteriorated for a year now. How is Poland ever supposed to gain solid ground again amid this whirlpool?

Rakowski: This is the $64,000 question. First, what we are witnessing today is the consequence of the overinvestment in the seventies. Second, the Gierek team increased society's consumption demands in an unbalanced way. In this respect I would like to point to the example of the Germans, which I have cited quite often, for my knowledge of the German mentality tells me the following: If the Germans were to find themselves in a situation like ours today, they would think: First let us be content with what has been achieved, then set to work on the economy and show the world what we are able to do. Only then will we raise new demands.

SPIEGEL: The Germans, too, are no longer what they used to be.

Rakowski: I talk about the Germans of the fifties. In my view our basic problem lies in the fact that right now my fellow countrymen are once again experiencing a romantic phase. They simply want to shut their eyes to the fact that there is nobody who would like to feed us for the next 5 years.

SPIEGEL: It appears to us that the Polish leadership sometimes confuses cause and affect. The supply crisis arose from the crisis of the system. What the Poles want is meat...

Rakowski: Of course. A friend of mine even presents the theory that the history of crisis in Poland is that of pig cycles: If there is a large number of pigs, then there is also calm in the country. But if pork production decreases, as for instance as a result of the wrong pricing policy, then the people get upset and there is the next crisis.

SPIEGEL: But must things happen this way?

Rakowski: I do not think so, though I sometimes wonder whether we could be any different at all. The basic problem is made up of not only one or more mistakes by Mr Gierek, but also of the fact that the power structures and the economic conditions, under which the Polish people have lived, have not been changed decisively at all for several decades. There was only remodeling and small cosmetic changes. The greatest weakness of the party was that it did not notice this in time. What must be added, however, is that the basis of the party already prior to August 1980 was loudly and very critically assessing Poland's socioeconomic situation in the second half of the seventies.

SPIEGEL: It is certainly more difficult to expect people to be badly off in times of peace than to demand blood, sweat and tears from them in times of war. Everything the former responsible people are reproached for today--such as sloppiness in the administration, mismanagement in the enterprises and inefficiency in agriculture--could have been read about as early as in the mid-seventies in POLITYKA magazine. The chief editor of the magazine at that time was a member of the Central Committee and his name was Rakowski. Wasn't there any way to shake up the system before it was too late?

Rakowski: No, this possibility did not exist at the time. It actually is a question of restoration or rebuilding of the structures. One naturally could have gone into opposition, but in so doing one would have been standing alone. As a matter of fact, I never got the idea of assuming an opposite toward my party--in the political as well as in the psychological sense. What was the choice I actually made? I decided in favor of criticism in a magazine that was read by some 1.2 million people. I did that for a time. In the mid-seventies I was already convinced that the Gierek line was the wrong one.

SPIEGEL: Thus it was possible to loosen the structures only after Solidarity emerged?

Rakowski: Yes, of course. If you thought that such a Central Committee plenum as has taken place now would have taken place 2 years ago--it would seem impossible. At that time we were not even permitted to criticize ministers. We always had to write "certain" or "some" people. I think that in our social system an independent force should control the activities of those in power, should control state power.

SPIEGEL: In a parliamentary democracy the opposition is this controlling force. Who is supposed to control the government in your country?

Rakowski: Prior to August 1980 as well as in the following months, I believed that an independent autonomous trade union could be such a force. But now, due to the experience made, I am not quite certain whether this is realistic. The problem consists in the fact that it is very difficult to draw limits between control and striving to take over.

SPIEGEL: But you should answer the most important question for us. Is it feasible under the special political conditions in Poland for Solidarity to control the government as an opposition party?

Rakowski: No, I don't think so.

SPIEGEL: In plain Polish, this means that you fear that a confrontation will take place now that would be worse than before?

Rakowski: Yes sir. [in English]

SPIEGEL: Mr Rakowski, we thank you for this talk.

VARIOUS STRIKE READINESS, ALERTS CONTINUE

Pila Printing Indictment

LD171350 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] The Pila public prosecutor's office has completed preliminary investigations and has submitted to the regional court in Pila an indictment in the case of the printing, without the permission of the Chief Office for the Control of Press, Publishing and Public Performances, of two brochures with a combined circulation of 13,000 copies.

The brochures had the following titles: "The Poznan June of 1956;" and "The Streets Were Our Friend." The aforementioned prints were ordered by the Solidarity work's committee in the POLAM lighting equipment factory and the local regional board.

The charges are against the press spokesman of the Central Board and the chairman of the works committee in POLAM.

After the announcement by the voivodship prosecutor's office, strike readiness was proclaimed in all Solidarity works organizations in the Pila Voivodship. A 4-hour warning strike has been announced for 21 September from 0800 to 1200.

Printers' Solidarity Demands

LD171902 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Today's press carries reports on the strike of print workers at the Solidarity print works in Gdansk. The print workers are complaining about working conditions and wages. Our correspondent reports that the news of the print workers' demands spread quickly in the town. A group of shipyard workers arrived in the headquarters of the Regional Board [of Solidarity] and, after what began as a calm discussion with the printers, ordered them to leave the print works. The shipyard workers felt indignant at demands of the workers of the Solidarity print works, which were much too high according to them. The Presidium of the Regional Board set up a commission of inquiry into the case and the entire workforce of the print works were given 2-weeks off with pay.

Wroclaw Calls Off Alert

LD171850 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Since Dr Kornel Morawiecki, who was arrested in Wroclaw on a warrant issued by the regional prosecutor's office, has been released on social bail, the works commission of NSZZ Solidarity has rescinded the strike alert announced earlier. The situation at the polytechnic has returned to normal. The prosecutor's office investigation in the charges against Morawiecki continues.

Concern Over Supplies

LD181030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 18 Sep 81

[Text] Supply shortages are the reason for the social unease which has been occurring for several days now in various areas of Opole Voivodship.

First, farmers from the village of Brzeziny near Wroclaw refused to supply milk for 2 days until supplies to their parish shops were increased. Several farmers from [name indistinct] acted in a similar fashion. Today, the situation has been cleared up inasmuch as milk is getting through to dairy produce purchasing centers and farmers have been promised that there will be an improvement in food supplies.

As from yesterday, on the other hand, strike readiness has been in effect in Glucholazy, it was announced by the Solidarity coordination point there. The reason is the same, poor supplies. During yesterday's meeting in Glucholazy the chairman of the consumers' cooperative promised that there will be an improvement in supplies. The chairman of Solidarity in Glucholazy stated that the strike readiness will continue.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI VIEWS 'ANTICOMMUNIST TREND'

LD171528 Warsaw PAP in English 1412 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Sep (PAP)--Some Solidarnosc activists would like to turn their union into an organization of fighting anticommunism, the army paper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCSI charged today.

"Paradoxically, the anticommunist trend has occurred within a trade union in a socialist state. In defiance of bare facts, Solidarnosc continues to claim that it is a non-political organization," the paper said.

"While overt anticommunism would inspire surprise or concern under any circumstances, the matter is simply grave when it is manifested by extreme aggressive calls for hanging communists and liquidating all symbols of the working class movement," the paper said and added that the methods used by some Solidarnosc leaders in this respect would not be rejected by an extreme anticommunist organization.

The paper also charged the union with arrogant promotion of its own symbols, which are now taking the place of [words indistinct].

More on ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI

LD171822 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Sep 81

["Anticommunist Trends"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Sep (PAP)--The utterances and actions of some Solidarity figures are showing more and more frequently the false path on which they want to take this organization. Solidarity extremists are causing suprise with their actions and placing sober-minded citizens of our country in an awkward position, Leslaw Wojtasik writes in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI. Certain Solidarity figures would like to turn Solidarity into an organization of militant anticommunism. The paradox of this phenomenon is evident: Anticommunist trends in the trade unions of a socialist state are something unlikely. It becomes serious, if the aforementioned anticommunism is expressed in extremely aggressive calls to hang communists and eliminate the symbols of the workers and communist movement. The methods being used in this regard by Solidarity would not shame even the American extreme reactionary and anticommunist Birch Society, with the slight amendment that even in the United States this organization has to act in accordance with the law.

From the very outset of its activities Solidarity, in program fashion, broke with all the symbols of the workers and communist movement. This organization does not recognize the red banner, although it has been linked with various trends of the workers movement from its vary birth. Other symbols of the workers movement and communism such as the hammer and sickle and the red star are emphatically rejected by Solidarity. In place of these symbols of the workers and communist movement Solidarity is introducting its own symbols--and is doing so obtrusively, by shamelessly employing various manipulations. Extreme nationalism is leading to the misuse, on any pretext, of the national colors.

Calls for the elimination of communists are also, and perhaps even above all, manifestations of anticommunism. It is difficult to take seriously the utterances of high-ranking Solidarity figures, whose biographies and present activities could be the subject for extensive work on psychiatry. However, one cannot (?fail to pay) attention to the utterances of those Solidarity figures who are aspiring to become its leading ideologists. At this point I would like to make one remark. In the legislation of every civilized state there is the idea of a punishable threat. The threat or call to deprive a certain group of people of their lives can also be included in this groups of violations of the law. Will Poland remain for long a country where this kind of criminal action goes unpunished? Surely the organs in our state defending the law will not reconcile themselves to such utterances. In our view certain people should have long ago answered this question, Leslaw Wojtasik writes in conclusion.

SOLIDARITY REPLACES CENSORED PAGE IN PAPER

LD171514 Warsaw PAP in English 1418 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Sep (PAP)--The latest edition of the SOLIDARNOSC weekly will appear with a 24-hour delay after the editorial board of the weekly has replaced the page witheld by the censorship office with a new one which the censors have okayed, PAP has been told today. The edition went to the printing press in the morning today.

Background to Suspension

LD171618 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] According to informationfrom PAP, the latest edition of the SOLIDARNOSC weekly was sent for printing by the editorial board during the night of 16 September, with a 24-hour delay. As we have already reported, the Chief Office for the Control of Press, Publishing and Public Performances approved 15 of the 16 pages of the weekly for printing by 15 September. On one page the censor questioned some of the materials which violated the law. Yesterday the SOLIDARNOSC editorial board, after previously stating publicly that it had not decided to abandon the printing of the current number but only to suspend it, late in the evening submitted to the Chief Office for Control of Press, Publications and Performances a page containing substitute materials in place of those which had been questioned. That page was passed for printing.

The printing of the SOLIDARNOSC weekly started this morning.

KATOWICE SOLIDARITY PROTESTS RESOLUTION 199

LD172032 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] In the Katowice Voivodship coal mines, the works commissions of NSZZ Solidarity are protesting the Council of Ministers Resolution No 199 of 11 September 1981. This resolution grants many material benefits to miners and also sets higher rates of renumeration for work on free Saturdays. This document also strongly underlines matters of the supply of spare parts for machines and (?permanent) installations essential for safe and efficient extraction in coal mines.

The Solidarity works commissions particularly attack the resolution's formula for awarding higher remuneration for work on free Saturdays. Tadeusz (Blaszczyk), chairman of the Solidarity works commission of the Borynia coal mine, informed our Katowice correspondent that that part of Resolution 199 contravenes the Jastrzebie agreement. He also said miners should earn good money, but from Monday to Friday. In many coal mines the Solidarity works commissions have organized mass meetings during which the workforces were stirred up against the Council of Ministers resolution. The Regional Board of Solidarity of Slask-Dabrowski adopted a resolution conveying its full support for protest actions undertaken by the National Coordinating Committee [KKK] of the mining section of Solidarity against application of the Council of Ministers' Resolution No 199.

INTERIOR MINISTRY WORKERS ISSUE STATEMENT

LD172058 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] The press spokesman of the trade union of civilian workers in the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] has delivered a statement in which we read:

In connection with the resolution adopted by the Solidarity congress, we state that the civilian workers of the MSW are members of the NSZZ of Civilian Workers of the MSW. The union represents the interests of the employees with regard to the leadership of the ministry and the organs of the state. We cooperate with the consultative commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions. We are ready to enter into partnerly cooperation with other trade unions, the press spokesman of the trade union of civilian workers in the MSW writes. However, all attempts to interfere with our affairs and efforts to replace us in fulfilling our statutory duties are treated by us as an act which assails the principle of union self-government.

'ANXIETY' SEEN FOLLOWING SOLIDARITY CONGRESS

AU171117 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12-13 Sep 81 p 2

[Jerzy Bielecki article: "Following the First Round of the Solidarity Congress--More Anxiety Than Hope"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] WE HAVE REPORTED AND COMMENTED EVERY DAY ON THE FIRST ROUND OF THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS, BUT TODAY WE WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU OUR INITIAL AND MOST GENERAL REFLECTIONS. THE SUMMING UP OF THE CONGRESS WILL BE DONE WHEN ITS SECOND ROUND IS OVER.

Watching the congress in the Gdansk Oliwia arena for 6 days, I thought that the debates ran along separate lines, although this was not stipulated by the daily agenda.

THE FIRST LINE WAS THE AFFIRMATION OF SOLIDARITY, WHOSE ORIGINS DATE BACK TO AUGUST 1980.

A year old baby smiling at you from the congress poster and sporting the caption "solidarnosc" across his chest was a symbol of that line. Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa opened the congress in that spirit--in the spirit of satisfaction over closing down the initial period of Solidarity's existence. It is also within that line that we should place the warmly acclaimed welcoming speeches by domestic and foreign guests, who, as is usual on such occasions, were prone to use flowery courtesy expressions. The serious tenor of the National Consultative Commission's [KKP] general report distributed among the congress delegates during the first round of debates also belongs to that line.

It is true that--in order to affirm Solidarity--that report laid the blame for all committed and not committed errors at the door of the authorities and ascribed all the merits to Solidarity, but, at the same time, it also proposed constructive activities, appealing for work on 8 work-free Saturdays and for committing Solidarity to efforts to overcome the crisis.

YOU COULD ALSO DETECT THE LINE IN QUESTION--A LINE ILLUSTRATED BY DISTRUST IN EVERYTHING AROUND AS WELL AS BY SUSPICIOUSNESS AND A LACK OF CRITICISM--DURING THE BEHIND-THE-SCENES TALKS WITH SOME CONGRESS DELEGATES AND GUESTS AND WITH SOME SOLIDARITY PRESS JOURNALISTS.

And although--I assert--that line was far from weak during the congress, ITS SPECIFIC RESULTS WERE DECIDEDLY DIFFERENT FROM WHAT I HAVE CALLED THE AFFIRMATION OF SOLIDARITY.

Pride makes you bold, an old proverb says, but there are people who know how to strike the desired chords by stimulating one's pride. Such chords were struck. IT WAS ENOUGH TO STRENGTHEN THE RATHER GENERAL ASSUMPTION THAT SOLIDARITY IS ABLE TO DO ANYTHING AND MUST BE PRESENT EVERYWHERE AND THAT NOTHING WOULD HAVE HAPPENED AND WILL HAPPEN EXCEPT FOR SOLIDARITY, TO ENSURE THAT THE CONGRESS VOTING MACHINERY COULD BE MANIPULATED BY THE BEHIND-THE-SCENES MANIPULATORS, DESPITE MANY PROTESTS FROM THE CONGRESS HALL.

THAT WAS THE SECOND LINE OF THE CONGRESS IN THE OLIWIA ARENA. The people behind that line did not applaud and shout. They were efficient in their work behind the scenes and the most they did in the congress hall was to impose the right tenor on the adopted decisions through the pseudoformal speeches by the presidium representatives or through their skillfully piloting of the proceedings. I AM DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT IT WAS PRECISELY THAT LINE THAT PRODUCED THE RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED FOR "URGENT" VOTING, ALTHOUGH THEY HAD NOTHING IN COMMON WITH SOLIDARITY'S PROGRAMMATIC ACTIVITIES AND ALTHOUGH THEY WERE CLEARLY POLITICAL IN NATURE OR, AS I ALREADY SAID IN A COMMENTARY, WERE IN THE FORM OF "PROTEST NOTES."

It was just in this way that the message to the working people in Eastern Europe, which in its content and form constitutes an inadmissible interference in the domestic affairs of our allies, was "thrust" upon the congress. I HAVE NOT THE SLIGHTEST DOUBT THAT IT WAS NOT A MESSAGE FROM THE MANY MILLION-STRONG TRADE UNION; WHAT I THINK IS THAT A BEHIND-THE-SCENES GROUP OF DECIDED ANTICOMMUNISTS ABUSED IN THAT CASE THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS MANDATE.

The sponsors of the "message," the statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared on Friday [11 September] displayed a potentially dangerous lack of understanding of the people's and state's basic interests in the present world and of the balance of power and the system of the alliances guaranteeing stability and a peaceful future of Europe.

The first round of the congress adopted some 30 documents. MOST OF THE CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS DO IN NO WAY TOUCH UPON TRADE UNION ISSUES AND THOSE THAT DO ARE DECIDEDLY IN THE FORM OF PROTEST. This assertion is proved by the congress protest resolution on the trade union law, by the congress protest against the government, self-government and enterprise bills, and by the congress demand that a referendum be held on these bills, otherwise the ensuing laws would be boycotted. This assertion is also proved by the fact that the congress resolved to draw up Solidarity's own trade union(?) draft of the election law and suggested that Solidarity would participate in elections outside the National Unity Front.

That the formula of the National Unity Front should be changed has been under discussion for a long time now, and the Ninth PZPR Congress made the necessary decisions on the subject. But--regardless of its name and new contents--the National Front should be a platform of cooperation of all the forces that accept the constitutional, socialist social order. IS THIS ANOTHER ATTEMPT BY THE EXTREMIST WING TO THRUST THE PLATFORM OF VIOLATED SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES ON THE CONGRESS DELEGATES?

Whereas the representatives of the first line were effective through not noisy in their activities, THE GROUP OF THE OPEN ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM GAVE ITSELF AIRS AND GRACES, THREW OFF ALL DISGUISE AND, FROM THE CONGRESS FORUM, APPEALED FOR RISKING A TOTAL CONFRONTATION, FOR EXPUNGING FROM THE STATUE THE ITEM ON THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE IN POLAND, AND FOR REPLACING THE PRESENT STATE STRUCTURE BY SOLIDARITY STRUCTURES. It was an irony that those theses on attacks and struggles against the authorities were sometimes presented as...the program of Solidarity regions.

The first round of the congress did not produce that program and hardly tackled it in practice. Of the about 50 listed speakers only a few actually made their speeches and the rest were deferred to the next round of the congress.

To that line of the congress belong various shouters behind the scenes and the publishers of antiparty and anti-Soviet brochures and printed matter, which were distributed unofficially, and yet quite openly.

WHAT THEN HAVE BEEN THE RESULTS OF THE 6 DAYS OF LONG DEBATES? WHAT IS SOLIDARITY OFFERING ITS MEMBERS? Amendments to the statute, of which the most important is the adoption (through a great backing by the present Solidarity chairman) of the principle of electing centralized, strong national authorities, the settlement of the principles of regionalization and the creation of the so-called intermediate levels. We should bear in mind, however, that the adopted statutory amendments include the ones that may provoke the doubts of the body that registered Solidarity last November.

Solidarity also issued to its members a brief resolution or rather a programmatic appeal adopted by the first round of the congress. This is not a program, of course, but a list of general watchwords such as, for example, truth or democracy, for which Solidarity will fight. The point is, however, that it is suggested that only Solidarity fights for those and other issues.

On the day of the congress' opening a week ago I wrote about my fears and hopes. I said that the congress would disperse the fears that had accumulated everywhere, namely, that the rightwing extremists would prevail over the trade union mainstream of Solidarity. NOW I MUST ASSERT THAT THE CONGRESS' FIRST ROUND HAS INTENSIFIED THE FEARS AND REDUCED HOPES TO A MINIMUM.

I think that a break in the congress to enable the delegates to tell their electors what has so far been achieved will--despite everything--be conducive to a constructive course of the congress' decisive round in 2 weeks' time.

The conclusion of my article marking the opening of the congress and stating that the wisdom of the delegates of many millions of Solidarity members would be victorious was ironically commented on at the congress by press spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz. I THINK THAT THIS IS NOT A TIME FOR IRONY. IT IS A TIME FOR SOLIDARITY'S SERIOUS APPROACH TO THE SOCIAL ACCORD LINE DEFINED A YEAR AGO.

One more small but important reflection: It is possible that Solidarity negotiators in the talks on radio and television coverage of the congress intentionally proved inflexible because they had assumed that it would be difficult to provide substantial materials for 3.5 hours of daily converage of the first round of the congress. Will this change during the second round?

TRYBUNA LUDU CITES FARMERS' SOLIDARITY AIMS

AU171651 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Sep 81 p 5

[PAP report: "Session of National Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity for Private Farmers"]

[Text] According to the press spokesman of the NSZZ Solidarity for Private Farmers, the National Founding Committee of this Solidarity held a session in Warsaw on 12-13 September. The session laid down Solidarity's main tasks concerning internal trade union affairs, organizational affairs and trade union activities in connection with the coming first national congress of delegates.

The session adopted various resolutions, including the one on continuing the protest action in the form of refusing to pay taxes because of nonimplementation of the decisions made on 17 August 1981 by the minister of agriculture and food economy on the agricultural development fund.

The session also adopted a resolution that states that the ministry and local authorities continue to constantly sabotage the Rzeszow and Ustrzyki accords. Threatening national protest actions, the National Founding Committee demands that these accords be fully and immediately implemented; that, in particular, the rights of private farming be guaranteed in the constitution; that farmers be given back the lands that were taken from them illegally or wrongly; that a new retirement pension law based on the trade union bill of social insurance of farmers and their dependents be introduced, and that a system of field insurance be introduced by the state insurance bureau on the principle of voluntariness.

The session adopted Solidarity's posture on the economic and fiscal conditions for farm production. In particular, the session expects a basic economic reform, including its integral part--the price reform--which should begin with a reform of procurement prices.

To check the drop in the supply of slaughter hogs, it is necessary to raise the procurement prices to Z120 for 1kg [of live hog] at once and as expedient. Private Farmers' Solidarity is for maintaining a free market of farm produce, but it and National Solidarity should lay down the principles of the functioning of such a market and the maximum prices prevailing in its. Private Farmers' Solidarity rejects the proposals concerning tied transactions (farm produce for production means).

The session elected a statute committee which will work out proposals for changing the statute at the first congress of delegates. It also appointed a consultative council with the participation of practical farmers and scientists.

The session protested repressions against the farmers who participate in protest actions and against officials and employees of Private Farmers' Solidarity who publish and circulate printed matter.

It was agreed that the first national congress of delegates will be held between 16-18 January 1982. (first round).

WARSAW PRINTERS VOTE TO JOIN TU NATIONAL BODY

LD172038 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] The program of union activity was the subject of a plenary session of the Central Board of the NSZZ of Printing Workers held in Warsaw. A decision was taken on this union joining the national commission of cooperation among trade unions. The NSZZ of Printing Workers, in accordance with its statute, has held a referendum amongst its members on this issue and an overwhelming majority of them voted to join. An addendum to the program of the union's work was also confirmed. The addendum demands, among other things, that those responsible for bringing the present situation upon the country should be brought to justice, including those responsible for shortcomings in culture and, in particular, for the disastrous situation prevailing in the printing industry.

METALLURGISTS UNION DISCUSSES PLANT SITUATION

LD171504 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] The Presidium of the chief council of the Metallurgical Workers' Trade Union, meeting in the Baildon iron and steel plant in Katowice, has discussed the current situation in the union and the tasks emerging from it for the works organizations. The chairmen of the plant councils in the Katowice, Lenin and Baildon iron and steel plants have reported on the situation in the works and on cooperation between the unions.

The situation is very diversified; however, many problem common to the metallurgists do emerge and call for union actions and decisions.

Those present assessed critically the state of supplies to the workforces for the winter. It was also decided to help the pensioners and annuitants whose situation is most distressing. Three million zloty have been allocated immediately for assistance to those most in need.

In connection with information about the strike readiness proclaimed in some iron and steel works, having been motivated by social and living conditions, the chief council of the metallurgists trade union has decided to leave the decision-making on this issue to its plant echelons recognizing that a strike is the ultimate form of union struggle. The reason for this decision is the readiness of the metallurgists trade union to respect the will of its members and not to impose arbitrary decisions. We have had too many instances of this recently.

WARSAW REPORTS CURRENT PROGRESS OF HARVEST WORK

LD172152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Summary] After fairly abundant rainfall over almost all parts of the country in the past few days, farmers have resumed their field work. The lifting of potatoes, sowing work and the second harvest of grass, which is nearing completion, are in general proceeding efficiently. In the country as a whole, one-third of the potatoes have been gathered. Potato lifting has made most headway in Sieradz, Tarnow, Kalisz and Piotrkow Trybunalaski Voivodships. Winter grain crops sowing is proceeding most efficiently in the eastern part of the country. At present, all 20 enterprises of the potato processing industry are in operation.

GRAIN HARVEST FIGURES NOTED: IMPORTS NEEDED

AU171628 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Sep 81 pp 1-2

[PAP report: "Imports Are Still Needed: How Is Grain Procurement Going?"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] FROM 7 TO 10 SEPTEMBER, GRAIN PROCUREMENT IN THE COUNTRY TOTALED 38,000 TONS, BRINGING THE TOTAL DELIVERED TO DATE TO NEARLY 1,119,000 TONS, INCLUDING 1,070,000 TONS FROM PRIVATE FARMS AND NEARLY 113,000 TONS FROM STATE FARMS. IN THE ANALOGOUS PERIOD LAST YEAR, GRAIN PROCUREMENTS WERE SOMEWHAT HIGHER.

Recently, deliveries to grain procurement centers have declined to about 10,000 tons daily, while at the time of intensive harvest operations in the country they averaged several tens of thousands of tons. Farmers have now been occupied with sowing and digging, and when these operations are over, more grain stored in stacks and barns will certainly be threshed. As of October, farmers will be additionally paid for grain drying and storing.

Even taking all that into account, it is to be admitted that the process of this year's grain procurement has been very uneven. Since the beginning of the harvest, the largest amounts of grain have been delivered in Opole, Szczecin, Bydgoszcz and Poznan Voivodships. For example, the total procured in Bydgoszcz Voivodship has exceeded 90,000 tons. But other regions have thus far delivered several thousand tons each. In particular, this applies to Nowy Sacz, Ostroleka, Bielsko, Krakow, Krosno, Lomza, Rzeszow and Tarnow Voivodships.

Thus, the point is to invigorate procurement, because this year's crops provide the conditions for that. To meet the needs in food and fodder, we must continue to import grain. IN THE ECONOMIC YEAR 1981-82, OUR PURCHASES ABROAD WILL TOTAL ABOUT 5.5 MILLION TONS OF GRAIN AND A LARGE AMOUNT OF EXTRACTED MEALS AND CONCENTRATED FODDER WITH HIGH ALBUMEN CONTENT. Imports must be large because our home grain production is insufficient.

WE NEED ABOUT 6 MILLION TONS OF GRAIN ANNUALLY FOR FOOD ALONE. ABOUT 4.2 MILLION TONS OF GRAIN ARE EXPECTED TO BE PROCURED WITHIN THE COUNTRY. THIS TARGET WILL BE FEASIBLE IF ALL FARMERS UNIFORMLY DELIVER GRAIN.

Mills are grinding domestic and imported grain at full swing. While operating also on Saturdays and Sundays, they overfulfilled the August plan for flour marketing. They have also been working at high rates in September. For example, the Sulkowice mill, the largest in Wroclaw, is grinding 500 tons of grain; and supplying about 70 tons of packaged flour to stores daily.

PAP NOTES LIVESTOCK PROCUREMENT FIGURES DECLINING

LD172148 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Sep (PAP)--Livestock procurement in Poland keeps slumping down, further aggravating the meat market situation in the country. Daily supplies of slaughter cattle float below the 5,000-ton mark and stay well behind the year's curtailed target plan.

In the first two weeks of September, the procurement of livestock amounted to 40,000 tons, that is down 20,000 tons or 33 percent from the respective period last year and about [figure indistinct] per cent below the target figure. Over the same period Poland received 8,000 tons of imported meat, 3,600 tons less than envisaged.

Deals with breeders for October call for the supply of only 285,000 hogs and 62,000 cattle, down by 43 percent and nearly 62 per cent respectively from October of 1980, and contracts for November are also thinner.

COAL, POWER SUPPLIES ARE 'MOST URGENT PROBLEMS'

AU171636 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Sep 81 p 2

[PAP report: "The Country's Coal and Electric Energy Supplies Are the Most Urgent Problem"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] THE ANTICRISIS OPERATIONAL HEADQUARTERS UNDER THE GOVERNMENT HAS FOUND THE COUNTRY'S COAL AND ELECTRIC ENERGY SUPPLIES TO BE AMONG THE MOST URGENT PROBLEMS. THE FAILURE TO SOLVE THEM MAY DRAMATICALLY AGGRAVATE THE CRISIS IN THE COUNTRY IN THE FALL-WINTER SEASON.

In other words, if coal output sinks below a certain level, we will have to bring a significant number of industrial enterprises to a standstill and cut electric energy production. However, the trouble is that, as a matter of fact, no one knows how much coal we will eventually produce. For this reason the Anticrisis Operational Headquarters had to work out an emergency plan, a program for activity in case the worst forecasts prove to be true.

In working out this year's coal balance, there were enormous troubles from the outset. While drafting the 1981 plan, the then ministry of mining persistently defended the output target of 188 million tons (including free Saturdays) and insisted that if that target is not achieved it will be impossible to meet the country's needs. However, in reality those persons proved to be right who said that the coal output planned by the government was unrealistic. The plan had to be corrected in the process of its implementation. AT THAT TIME, IT WAS FIXED THAT MINES HAD TO SUPPLY AT LEAST 168 MILLION TONS OF COAL THIS YEAR AND THAT THIS WAS THE ABSOLUTE MINIMUM NEEDED BY THE COUNTRY. But even that target turned out to be questionable.

Taking into account the present mining rates and realistically assuming that coal output would not increase, the Anticrisis Operational Headquarters accepted 164 million tons as the most probable amount of coal which will eventually be at the disposal of our economy this year. In accordance with this, an emergency fuel balance has been worked out, providing for far-reaching restrictions in coal supplies. Thus if all forecasts of the Anticrisis Operational Headquarters prove to be right, our situation will be as follows: Supplies for the country's needs will sink to 150.7 million tons, or by almost 17 million tons compared with 1980 when the coal crisis had already begun.

In their turn, export deliveries will total about 16 million tons, or about 14 million tons less than in 1980 and 1.3 million tons less than planned a month or two before.

Notwithstanding the further cuts in exports, the production shortfall of about 4 million tons of coal will bring about additional reductions in supplies to the country's industrial customers. In particular, electric power plants will only obtain 54.6 million tons of coal, and coking plants 22.7 million tons. As a result of that, the production of metal, cement and many other materials and goods will go down even more.

WILL THE ANTICRISIS OPERATIONAL HEADQUARTERS PROVE TO BE RIGHT IN ITS FORECASTS? UNFORTUNATELY, EVERYTHING SHOWS THAT THIS IS PRECISELY THE CASE. THE INITIATIVE OF THE SOLIDARITY NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION TO WORK IN THE MINES ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS 8 SATURDAYS IS HIGHLY COMMENDABLE. BUT TO REMOVE ANY DOUBTS: TO MEET THE BASIC NEEDS OF THE ECONOMY (168 MILLION TONS), WE WILL BE 4 MILLION TONS SHORT, AND IT IS HIGHLY IMPROBABLE THAT THIS GAP WILL BE CLOSED ON FREE SATURDAYS.

It should be added that those 4 million tons would not leave any surplus. They would only enable us to maintain industrial production at the present level and to keep all industrial branches running. The only fundamental question left open is: Who will provide that coal and when?

GOVERNMENT PRESS CONFERENCE HELD ON DRAFT BUDGET

LD172328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Unidentified correspondent's report on government press conference held in Warsaw 17 September]

[Excerpts] At today's conference arranged by the government press spokesman, reporters were familiarized with the progress achieved in the work being done on preparing drafts of the social plan and state budget. Things are only at a preliminary stage so far and the very fluid political and economic situation of the country does not make this task any easier. This is why both Deputy Premier Zbigniew Madej, chairman of the Planning Commission, and Marian Krzak, minister of finance, spoke about various versions of the plan and budget; and every discussion on these subjects starts and ends with coal. The potential technical possibilities of our mines are assessed as being 175 million tons of coal per annum. This is a version which is optimistic and is probably unrealistic. If coal extraction were to remain at the level which was recorded in the past few weeks we would obtain 155 million tons next year, which would be a form of economic disaster. It is assumed that 168 million tons of coal will be extracted next year and it is on this basis that almost all the other decisions are based. We shall return to the question of coal in just a minute but now to some other matters.

Because the plan and budget are primarily made up of figures--and radio is not a good medium for figures--I'll describe only some of the most important matters. Agriculture--the optimistic version: If the harvest next year is similar to the present year, Deputy Premier Madej stated, then one could start thinking of withdrawing all food coupons except for meat. As to the pessimistic version in agriculture: It would be better not to talk about it.

But certain parts of the plan, regarding education or public health for instance, are to be maintained irrespective of the version which is finally accepted. Budgetary matters are also still fluid. Minister Krzak is of the opinion that it will be necessary to establish a provisional budgetary arrangement for at least the first 4 months of the year. But the deficit in the budget is fairly certain. The optimistic version is Z200 billion this year while the pessimistic version is Z800 billion.

Investment outlays should remain within the limits of 11 percent.

Enterprises which become self-governing will not be restricted by limits in their investment activities but only from their own resources. Bank credits will be very scant. Minister Krzak also forecast new financial moves, including an amendment to the rate of foreign exchange and the elimination of the "foreign currency zloty" category. And so much for these items of news. As I have said, the question of the state plan and budget for next year is an open one and it will certainly still be publicly discussed.

Now I would like to return to coal. It is very difficult to plan next year's coal extraction and to draw up the tasks of the economy on this basis since we still do not know how much coal there will be this year. That is what I asked Jerzy Malara, deputy minister of mining, who was also present at the press conference:

[Begin Malara recording] Originally we planned that 168 million tons of coal would be extracted this year. At present we assess the realistic extraction possibilities range from 164-165 million tons this year. This year so far a little more than 115 million tons of coal have been extracted.

MARITIME MINISTER HOLDS MEETING IN GDANSK

LD171544 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] A meeting was held in Gdansk between the head of the Office of Maritime Economy, Minister S. Bejger and economic activists of the Gdansk coastal region. The minister discussed preparations for the introduction of economic reform in maritime branch enterprises. He devoted much space to discussing the economic goals and priorities which the heads of ministerial departments set themselves in individual branches.

COMMUNIQUE ON POLISH EPISCOPATE CONFERENCE NOTED

LD161550 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1415 GMT 16 Sep 81

[Text] The 180th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate met in Gniezno on 14 and 15 September this year. The debates were chaired by Archbishop Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland. The communique of the 180th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate notes, among other things:

Opening the debate, the primate stated that according to the wish of the holy father, through which the will of God is expressed, he assumes the duty vis-a-vis the Church in Poland in the post of chairman of the Conference of the Episcopate, being full confident of the assistance of God and the care of the Mother of God. The primate remembered his great predecessor and expressed thanks for the friendship and help shown him in the execution of the difficult office.

The bishops, the communique continues, spoke with deep concern about the very difficult situation in the country and the resulting pastoral tasks of the church. Despite fears and anxieties accumulating during the last few months (?there is) a general desire for a change of social and economic life in our country, which (?embraces) the whole people. This desire for changes in the life of our country results from healthy moral principles which also have the support in the Catholic (?teaching). We ought to proceed through the obstacles and difficulties which often result from a lack of understanding and mistrust between authorities and society, especially the trade union movement. These difficulties are deepened, especially in moments of conflict, by one-sided information which often departs from the objective truth. In recent weeks tensions have reached such a state that a road toward a common conference table must again be found and solutions, which (?will meet) with social acceptance, must be found.

The greatness of our service to the fatherland consists of being led by the well-being of the whole nation and not by private interests or those of one group. Moreover, one must not lead to confrontation, which exposes all of us to great dangers.

The bishops received with great (?interest) the new encyclical letter of John Paul II. The episcopate conference has sent a cable to the holy father thanking him for this encyclical letter.

Next, it is noted in the communique, the bishops acquainted themselves with the progress and results of the work of the joint commission of representatives of the government and the episcopate and with the results of working teams appointed by the joint commission. At the end of the communique of the 180th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate, the bishops encourage the faithful of the Church in Poland, while thanking St Mary of the Rosary in October for the salvation of the holy father, to beg that he be preserved to the world and defended against the adversities of Satan and evil people.

On 16 October, the third anniversary of the election of the holy father, the 27 June papal act of dedication to the Holy Spirit and to the mother church by the bishops of Jasna Gora at the end of their retreat, will be renewed.

CHEMICAL, LIGHT INDUSTRIES SET UP ANTICRISIS STAFF

LD171928 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] An operational anticrisis staff was set up today at a conference of directors of enterprises and greater amalgamations in the chemical and light industries. One of the principal tasks of the anticrisis staff is to ensure production of basic goods such as medicines, articles of personal hygiene, clothing and footwear for children, pesticides and fertilizers.

PAP DESCRIBES TYPES OF CRIME INCREASING

LD172030 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Sep 81

["Infringements of Law and Security"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Sep (PAP)--The systematic deterioration in Poland of conditions of tranquility, security and public order is arousing great alarm.

According to information compiled by the Chief Directorate of the Citizens' Militia the number of investigations connected with crime and safeguarding public order is growing every month. For example, there were 45 percent more of these investigations this July than last July, 37.5 percent more this June than last June and 37.7 more this August than last August. Over the past 8 months the number of these investigations has increased by 26 percent (from 166,000 to 210,000) as compared with the same period last year. There has been over Z3 billion worth of damage connected with such crime.

The number of cases of persistent criminal activity is increasing. These criminal groups painstakingly plan their crimes and normally choose bank branches, cash offices of major industrial enterprises, jewelery stores and so forth as their targets.

Consumer goods, especially food and liquor, are most often the object of theft. Valuable cultural objects from museums and religious artifacts are also being stolen. The customs houses are reporting more and more frequently attempts to bring large consignments of narcotics into Poland, and there are cases of hijackings, theft and smuggling art and precious metals, which show the symptoms of international crime.

Cases of dangerous collective opposition to militia workers in the performance of their duties are occurring more and more often. Cases of the desecration of graves and monuments to Soviet servicemen and also collective violations of public order by sports fans have occurred.

Facts show that the determination of the law enforcement organs is producing positive results. The number of those suspected of committing crimes in an intoxicated condition has dropped. This may be explained not only by the difficulty of acquiring liquor but also by the resolute actions of the militia which carried out 770 operations to combat the illegal production and sale of vodka during the first half of this year.

In 8 months this year, 3,621 cases of gambling were exposed, which is 22 percent more than last year. It is worth while recalling that the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the government Presidium from early August made it incumbent upon the militia to step up the fight against gambling. Over 1,000 crimes and almost 23,500 cases of gambling were exposed between 3 Aug and 4 Sep by soldiers and control bodies. The number of investigations connected with mismanagement and abuse of administrative positions is on the increase which constantly causes anxiety.

PZPR OFFICIALS ATTEND LOCAL PARTY MEETINGS

Wozniak In Czestochowa

LD172122 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 17 Sep 81

Text] At the Bierut steelworks in Czestochowa a meeting was held today of the iron and steel workers' party aktiv. Marian Wozniak, secretary of the party Central Committee took part. From among the many issues relating to the country's present socioeconomic situation matters connected with the economic reform and with the activities of workers' self-government and of enterprises were discussed. The principles governing the introduction of new prices for foodstuff articles, compensation, the responsibility of the party for cadre policy, and the work of the party apparatus were discussed.

Opalko At Tarnow Meeting

LD172050 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] An assessment of the sociopolitical and economic situation of the country and of the Tarnow region and also the outlining of tasks arising from this for current party activities in the Tarnow Voivodship were the subjects of a conference of the voivodship party aktiv held in Tarnow today. Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Tarnow Voivodship Party Committee took part in the conference.

During the conference most attention was paid to the way the first part of the Solidarity congress proceeded. It was assessed unambiguously that this congress is not of a working nature but is a further step pushing Solidarity to antiparty, antigovernment and antisocialist positions. This provokes understandable indignation and unease among working people in the region. The need to eliminate anarchy, to restore public law and order and security, and to halt the ongoing economic crisis and the drop in production was stressed.

BRIEFS

POLISH-ROMANIAN CONTRACT--Bucharest, 17 Sep (PAP)--The POLIMEX-CEKOP foreign trade enterprise of Poland signed a 5.5 million rouble contract with Romanian partners under which the Polish side will deliver a paper production line to Romania in 1983. The installation will be assembled under Polish supervision. This is one of the biggest POLIMEX-CEKOP deals with Romania. [Text] Warsaw PAP in English 1417 GMT 17 Sep 81 LD]

COMMUNIQUE ON KUWAIT AMIR'S VISIT ISSUED 14 SEP

AU171031 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Sep 81

[Joint communique on the 12-14 September visit to Romania by Kuwait's Amir Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, issued on 14 September in Bucharest]

[Text] At the invitation of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the amir of the state of Kuwait, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah paid an official friendship visit to Romania between 12 and 14 September 1981.

The amir of the state of Kuwait and his entourage were extended a warm reception as an expression of the relations of close friendship existing between the two countries.

The two heads of state conducted official talks at which they exchanged detailed views, in a cordial atmosphere of friendship and mutual respect, on the current stage of bilateral relations and on certain current aspects of the international situation. The talks were attended by:

--On the Romanian side, Comrades Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister of the government and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation; Emilian Dobrescu, deputy prime minister, chairman of the State Planning Committee; Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs; Gheorghe Caranfil, minister of chemical industry; Petre Gigea, minister of finance; Vasile Pungan, minister secretary of state, presidential adviser; Stefan Birlea, director of the Presidential Chancery; Silviu Curticeanu, presidential secretary and secretary of the State Council; Marcel Dinu, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

--On the Kuwaiti side, 'Abd ar-Rahman (Salim al-Atiqi), counselor to the amir's cabinet; Jasim Khalid al-Marzuq, minister of commerce and industry; 'Abd al-Latif Yusuf al-Hamad, minister of finance and planning; Rashid 'Abd al-Aziz al-Rashid, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Muhammad Darwish al-Aradi, under secretary of state at the Amir's Divan; ('Ali Issa al-Wazzan), under secretary of state at the Ministry of Commerce and Industry; Ibrahim Muhammad ash-Shati, director of the amir's cabinet; Adil Najm ad-Din Jarrah, ambassador of the state of Kuwait to Romania; Khalid al-Babtayn, political counselor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Muhammad Hasan, director general of the Kuwaiti Supply Company.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Amir Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah expressed satisfaction at the continuous development of relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between Romania and Kuwait and also stressed the need to ensure their dynamic expansion, particularly in the economic field. The two sides stressed the joint desire and determination to expand cooperation in various industrial branches and in the agroindustrial field, health, tourism, transportation, communications, the infrastructure, finance, trade and other sectors of mutual interest. In this respect the sides examined ways and means to jointly finance and attain concrete projects in the above-mentioned fields and to set up joint companies and other modern forms of production-sharing, on the basis of the principles of mutual advantage.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the amir of the state of Kuwait expressed the desire to rapidly increase bilateral ties and the determination to develop direct contacts between their countries at all levels. In this respect they decided to convene the joint intergovernmental commission of economic and technical cooperation as soon as possible.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the amir of the state of Kuwait exchanged detailed views on topical international issues.

Noting with concern the aggravation of the international situation, the two heads of state stressed the need to promote a fruitful dialogue between all countries and take responsible action to create an appropriate climate for resuming and consolidating the policy of peace, detente and international cooperation, on the basis of strict observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, full equality of rights, noninterference in domesticaffairs, nonuse of force or the threat of force and resolving all differences between states through peaceful means alone.

They pointed out the importance of increasing the role of developing countries, nonaligned states and small and medium-size countries in international life. They also stressed the need to increase and consolidate the role of the United Nations in international life.

In this respect, the sides paid particular attention to the tense situation in the Middle East, particularly as a result of the continuation of Israel's occupation of certain Arab territories, including East Jerusalem, as an outcome of Israel's consistent refusal to observe the UN resolutions on this issue and to recognize the legitimate national rights of the Arab Palestinian people andas a result of Israel's armed aggression against certain Arab countries and peoples.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah clearly stressed their conviction that a just and lasting overall peace in the Middle East can only be attained on the basis of Israel's complete withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war and the resolution of the Palestinian people's problem by recognizing their legitimate rights, including the right to self-determination and the creation of their own independent state. The two heads of state fully share the conviction that the key problem of the Middle East conflict is the Palestinian problem and that the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should particulate as an equal partner in all efforts, discussions and conferences on resolving the Palestinian problem. The Kuwait side expressed gratitude for the just position adopted by Romania toward the cause of the Arab peoples and for Romania's support for this cause.

The Romanian and Kuwaiti heads of state condemned Israel's aggressive actions against Lebanon, its continuous attempts at interfering in that country's domestic affairs, its military actions against Lebanese civilians and its repeated violations of Lebanon's territorial integrity. The two sides expressed support for the efforts underway to ensure peace and stability in Lebanon and to safeguard the security, sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of that country, under the leadership of the Lebanese legal authorities.

Both sides expressed profound concern over the continuous escalation of the arms race, which poses serious dangers to world peace and security. Stressing the firm position of their countries, favoring the adoption of urgent disarmament measures, primarily nuclear, the sdies pointed out the imperative need to halt the arms race and the production of nuclear weapons and other mass-destruction weapons, so that the efforts of all peoples could be directed toward constructive and positive cooperation among nations with a view to attaining prosperity and security throughout the world.

Examining the international economic situation, the two heads of state pointed out the need to eliminate underdevelopment and to build a new international economic order on just and equitable bases, in order to ensure the progress of each nation, primarily of developing countries, to overcome the current international economic crisis, to develop the world economy and to ensure peace, stability and cooperation throughout the world.

President Nicolae Ceausescu presented Romania's concerns with attaining security and cooperation in Europe and its activity to ensure that the Madrid meeting ends with positive results and gives a new impetus to detente and cooperation in Europe. The two sides stressed that the attainment of concrete results along the road of building security and cooperation in Europe will exert a positive impact upon peace, security and cooperation throughout the world and will contribute to reducing international tension.

The two sides noted with concern the increase in the military competition in international waters, something which is a threat to coastal states and other countries. The sides stressed the need to limit this competition and to act to reduce and eliminate any foreign military presence. In this respect, the two sides pointed out the need to immediately apply the UN declaration on turning the Indian Ocean into an area of peace.

The two sides pointed out the responsibility of the Gulf countries in ensuring peace and security in that region, without any foreign interference. Both heads of state expressed profound concern over the continuation of the conflict between Iraq and Iran and stressed the urgent need to put an end to the confrontation between the two states and to peacefully resolve the differences between them through negotiations.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and the amir of the state of Kuwait expressed full satisfaction with the results of the visit, with the talks held on this occasion and with the agreements jointly reached. They expressed the conviction that this new Romanian-Kuwaiti summit will give a new impetus to expanding friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries.

Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, amir of the state of Kuwait warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu for the warm reception and hospitality extended to him during the visit and cordially invited the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania to pay an official friendly visit to their state of Kuwait. The invitation was accepted with pleasure. The date of the visit will be established later.

PETRESCU SIGNS JOINT TRADE PROTOCOL IN MOSCOW

AU171057 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Sep 81 p 6

[Text] Our AGERPRES correspondent I. Dumitrascu reports that following negotiations conducted in Moscow on 14 September, a protocol was signed on exchanges of consumer goods for 1982 between the ministries of domestic trade of Romania and the Soviet Union. The document envisages a 20 percent increase in the volume of goods exchanges for that year.

The protocol was signed for the Romanian side by Dumitru Petrescu, first deputy minister of domestic trade, and for the Soviet Side by Viktor Bychov, deputy minister of trade.

IRAQI DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER RAMADAN VISITS

Ceausescu Receives Iraqi

AU171920 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Sep (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu received on September 17 Taha Yasin Ramadan, first deputy prime minister of Iraq, who paid an official visit to Romania at the invitation of the Romanian Government.

The interview was attended by Ilie Verdet, prime minister, Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister, chairman for Romania of the Joint Romanian-Iraqi Commercial and Economic and Technical Cooperation Commission, Gheorghe Dolgu, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Hasan 'Ali, minister of trade, chairman for Iraq of the Joint Commission, (Ahmad Husayn as-Samarra'i), deputy minister of foreign affairs, Diyab M. al-Alqawi, ambassador of Iraq in Bucharest, attended.

The interview occasioned an exchange of cordial salutes between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Saddam Husayn.

During the interview, they expressed satisfaction at the positive evolution of the Romanian-Iraqi relations of friendship and collaboration and expressed the wish to expand and amplify the fruitful collaboration between Romania and Iraq in the political, economic, technico-scientific and cultural domains, to the benefit of both countries and peoples, of the cause of peace, detente and cooperation internationally.

In that context, they analyzed possibilities of development of the cooperation in oil industry, agriculture, transport and industrial constructions, as well as in trade exchanges between the two countries.

They also approached questions of the present-day international political life. In that frame, worry was expressed at the obtaining tension in international life, with emphasis on the need for intensified efforts towards the resumption and continuation of the policy of detente, peace and respect for the peoples' independence, of non-immixture in internal affairs and equal rights, non-recourse to force and threat with force. Stressed was also the fact that international peace and security call for resolute measures towards the political, negotiated settlement of the states of tension and conflict in various parts of the world, towards the halting of the arms race and especially of the manufacturing and stockpiling of new mass destruction means, towards the urgent passage to disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place.

The necessity was revealed of urgently settling the conflict in the Middle East by establishing a global and just peace in this region, on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied after the 1967 war, of solving the Palestinian people's issues, by acknowledging its legitimate rights, including the right to self-determination and to founding its own independent state, by ensuring the independence and sovereignty of all the states in the region.

President Nicoale Ceausescu reasserted Romania's standpoint on the necessity to stop the confrontation between Iraq and Iran and to settle the differences between the two countries by political means, by negotiations.

During the talk, it was considered that the current session of the UN General Assembly must make an essential contribution to halting the deterioration of the international situation and to continuing the policy of detente, peace, collaboration and international independence, to solving the big issues facing mankind at present, thus strengthening the role of the organization in the world political and economic life.

The sides mutually highlighted the necessity to eradicate underdevelopment and to build a new international economic order conducive to the equitable development of all countries, particularly of the lagging ones.

The interview passed in a cordial atmosphere.

Verdet-Ramadan Talks

AU171424 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Official talks were held in Bucharest today between Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Taha Yasin Ramadan, first deputy prime minister of the Government of the Republic of Iraq, who is on an official visit to our country at the invitation of the Romanian prime minister. The talks were attended by Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister and chairman of the Romanian side in the Joint Commission for Trade and Economic and Technical Cooperation between Romania and Iraq; Dumitru Bejan, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation; Ion. Nicolae, first deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation; Gheorghe Dolgu, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Gheorghe Nestorescu, deputy minister of machine-building; and Marcel Dinu, director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On the Iraqi side, the talks were attended by Hasan 'Ali, minister of trade and chairman of the Iraqi side in the Joint Commission; (Ahmad Husayn al-Samaray), deputy minister of foreign affairs; (Sezi Rasin), deputy minister of industry and minerals; (Abd al-Jabat Nazidamin), chairman of the State Organization for Technical Industries; and Diyab al-Alqawi, Iraqi ambassador in Bucharest.

During the ensuing talk, the two sides stressed with satisfaction the positive development of economic, scientific-technical cooperation between Romania and Iraq in conformity with the agreements and understandings concluded during the Romanian-Iraqi summit dialogue.

Both sides stressed the current broad opportunities in the economies of the two countries to deepen and expand mutually advantageous cooperation and examined fields in which new cooperation ventures can be promoted between Romania and Iraq.

In this context, the two sides worked out tangible measures aimed at intensifying Romanian-Iraq cooperation in the oil industry, machine-building, industrial and civil construction and agriculture, and established future action to increase trade exchanges. The talks took place in a friendly atmosphere of mutual understanding.

On this occasion, the proceedings of an extraordinary session of the joint commission for trade and economic and technical cooperation between Romania and Iraq also took place. The delegations of the two countries were headed by Ion Dinca and by Hasan 'Ali, cochairmen of the Joint Commission.

'Ali Talks With Burtica

AU171937 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1857 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Sep (AGERPRES)--Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Hasan 'Ali, minister of trade of Iraq, dicussed during a meeting on September 17 the possibilities of further developing the trade exchanges and the economic cooperation between Romania and Iraq, in the spirit of the summit bilateral understandings.

GDR DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER VISIT CONTINUES

AU171906 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Sep (AGERPRES)--A military delegation led by Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Main Political Departments of the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic, now paying a visit to Romania, continued talks at the higher political council of the army. The guests, together with Lieutenant-General Gheorghe Gomoiu, deputy minister of national defense and secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Army, visited military units of Bucharest and Constanta.

CEAUSESCU CONGRATULATES NICARAGUAN LEADERS

AU171050 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Sep 81 p 6

[Congratulatory message from President Nicolae Ceausescu to Nicaraguan leaders on Nicaragua's national day]

[Text] To their excellencies Messrs Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Sergio Ramirez Mercado and Rafael Cordovo Rivas:

On the anniversary of the national day of the Republic of Nicaragua, I want to extend warm congratulations and best wishes for your personal happiness on behalf of the Romanian people and myself, together with wishes for prosperity and progress to the friendly Nicaraguan people.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

GREEK EDA PARTY LEADER VISITS BUCHAREST

Talks With Ceausescu

AU161935 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1848 GMT 16 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Sep (AGERPRES)--Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received on September 16 Ilias Iliou, leader of the United Democratic Left--EDA of Greece, now on a visit to Romania at the inviation of the CC of the RCP.

During the talk, the preoccupations of the two parties as well as the good relations between the RCP and EDA, between Romania and Greece were highlighted, and opinions were exchanged on current questions of the international political life. Emphasis was placed on the joint wish to further expand and deepen the relations of collaboration between the RCP and EDA, for the benefit of both parties, countries and peoples, in the interest of peace and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and all over the world. It was assessed that the amplification of the relations between the RCP and EDA contributed to the development of the manysided cooperation between Romania and Greece in the political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other fields of activity, to the strengthening of the traditional friendship between the Romanian people and the Hellenic people.

While approaching essential asepcts of the current international political situation, Nicolae Ceausescu and Ilias Iliou highlighted the concern of the two parties for the tension existing on a world plane as an outcome of the policy of force, of the division and redivision of the spehcres of influence and domination, of the unprecedented intensification of the arms race which seriously jeopardizes the peoples' independence and sovereignty, world peace.

The exchange of opinions pointed to the fact that under those particularly complex conditions it was more necessary than ever for the peoples, the revolutionary, progressive, advanced forces everywhere, for public opinion to strengthen their struggle for the political, negotiated settlement of the conflictual states of affairs, of all interstate differences, without using force or the threat of force, for the resumption and furtherance of the policy of detente, collaboration and observance of national independence, for peace, for halting the arms race, for disarmament, nuclear disarmanent first and foremost for the democratization of international relations for the building of a new world economic order.

During the talks, they also examined questions related to European security and cooperation. In this sense, emphasis was placed on the need for the Madrid meeting to conclude with concrete positive results, that should secure the convening of the conference on strengthening confidence and disarmament in Europe. They considered that everything should be done for the emplacement of new medium-range missiles to cease, for the production and emplacement in Europe of the neutron bomb to be stopped.

The secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and the EDA chairman highlighted the importance of developed collaboration in the Balkans, of turning the region into a zone of good neighborliness, understanding and bilateral and multilateral collaboration. They considered that the intensification of the relations among the Balkan countries and the further improvement of the atmosphere in this region can influence in the positive the entire political climate in Europe and the world over.

Emphasis was placed on the need for strengthening the collaboration among the communist, socialist, social-democratic parties, among all progressive, anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for the cause of peace, detente and collaboration internationally.

The interview passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Iliou Departs 17 Sep

AU171904 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 17 Sep (AGERPRES)--Ilias Iliou, leader of the Left Democratic Union of Greece, EDA, who paid a visit to Romania as guest of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, left Bucharest on September 17.

The guest was seen off at the Otopeni Airport by Virgil Cazacu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

PZPR POLITBURO STATEMENT ON SOLIDARITY NOTED

LD171732 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1616 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Sep (TANJUG)--The statement of the Polish United Workers' Party Politburo issued yesterday is the to date sharpest official condemnation of the Solidarity union's policy.

It is interesting that for the first time in the Politburo statement no readiness is mentioned for the renewal and resumption of the government's dialogue with Solidarity.

It will soon be known whether the Politburo's claim that "at its first congress", Solidarity "unilaterally broke", the agreements reached with the [words indistinct] means that neither the government nor the party feel themselves any longer bound by the agreements.

The gravest of the condemnation is that Solidarity has "publicly set for its goal the taking over of power and a change of the socio-political system in Poland".

"The message [illegible] the working people of Eastern Europe", issued by the Solidarity congress, is particular[illegible]ndemned as an insane provocation.

The attack on Solidarity and the congress was clearly not motivated only by internal reasons. Special attention is attracted to a part of the statement which notes that the Solidarity has opted for a programme which "has nothing in common with the character and objectives of a trade union". This leads to the conclusion that the opportuneness of the self-management independent trade unions is being placed in question.

"We will defend socialism as we defend the independence of Poland", the Politburo states. However, more important at the present moment [words indistinct] warning: "The state will for defence use all means called for by the situation". At this moment it is not yet known if the situation has arisen.

Solidarity's initial reaction to the statement is already in circulation, it has been learned, but not officially confirmed yet.

JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED ON HAIG VISIT 12-13 SEP

AU161428 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Sep 81 pp 1, 7

[Report on joint SFRY-U.S. statement for the press on the 12-13 September visit to Yugoslavia by Secretary of State Alexander Haig]

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Sep (TANJUG)--U.S. Secretary of State Alexamder Haig, who paid an official visit to our country, left Belgrade this morning. At Surcin Airport, Haig was seen off by his host Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who was accompanied by a group of officials of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

David Anderson, U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia, was also present at the sendoff.

A joint press statement has been issued in Belgrade in connection with the visit of U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig to Yugoslavia, which reads:

At the invitation of Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foriegn affairs, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig paid an official visit to Yugoslavia on 12 and 13 September.

Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, received Alexander Haig, who conveyed President Ronald Reagan's greetings to the SFRY Presidency.

Secretary of State Haig laid flowers on President Tito's tomb.

The talks were held in a friendly, frank and constructive atmosphere that characterizes the relations between the two governments. The two sides exchanged views on the further promotion of bilateral relations and on current international issues.

The two secretaries expressed their satisfaction over the development of relations and the expansion of cooperation between the two countries, on the bases which were determined at numerous meetings on the highest level, as well as in the joint statements of 1971, 1973, 1975, 1978 and 1980. The principles of independence, sovereignty, equality and noninterference, which were then adopted and tested in the daily practice of mutual relations, have again been reaffirmed as the lasting basis for long-term cooperation between the two countries.

The talks also dealt with current issues of interest for the further development of bilateral cooperation. Special attention was paid to finding opportunities to further strengthen economic cooperation, to achieve a more balanced trade exchange and to promote financial and industrial cooperation.

Attention was also paid to the need to invest further efforts to remove the dangers of terrorism in international relations, a problem that is on the agenda of the United Nations and other international forums. The Yugoslav side expressed its satisfaction over the steps taken by the U.S. Government to prevent anti-Yugoslav terrorism on American soil. Secretary of State Haig expressed the determination of his government to continue along this road.

The two sides set forth their views on the current international situation. They assessed that the interests of peace, security and development call for greater efforts by all countries. The two sides agreed on the need for a peaceful solution of disputes and for overcoming the great problems of the contemporary world. Special attention was devoted to the problems of development and to North-South relations. In this connection, the two sides exchanged views on the coming summit meeting in Cancun.

The two sides stressed the importance of a continuous dialogue for the further promotion of relations between the two countries on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

Within this context, Secretary of State Haig expressed respect for Yugoslavia's independent and nonaligned position and policy on the international plane.

Secretary Haig expressed thanks to the President of the SFRY Presidency, Kraigher, and to his host, Federal Secretary Vrhovec, as well as to other Yugoslav officials whom he met, for the warm hospitality accorded to him and to his associates.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig invited Federal Secretary Josip Vrhovec to pay an official visit to the United States. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

KUWAITI AMIR MEETS WITH DJURANOVIC, KRAIGHER

LD171106 Kuwait Domestic Service in Arabic 1000 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade: On the second day of his visit to the SFRY, the amir of Kuwait, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah, this morning received in audience the president of the Federal Executive Council and prime minister, Veselin Djuranovic.

Official talks between the two sides began in Belgrade last night under the chairmanship of his excellency the amir and his excellency, president of the SFRY Presidency Sergej Kraigher.

[Later on, the amir went to the Belgrade town assembly where a special meeting was held, during which the amir was given the title of honorary citizen of the city of Belgrade.

Official Talks Conclude

LD172307 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Sep (TANJUG)--The talks between Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah, amir of Kuwait, in which other high-ranking personalities took part, continued this afternoon in the palace of the federation.

There was again a very meaningful exchange of views on several topical questions of international relations which cause concern among most nonaligned countries and also in the international community. Understandably, further development of bilateral relations was also considered and--as a result of separate ministerial meetings--the desire was stressed for more considerable use of possibilities which in this respect exist in this friendly nonaligned country.

Kraigher and As-Sabah paid special attention to the relations between the developed and developing countries and to the expectations in this connection on the eve of the coming meeting of the group of heads of state or government of developed and developing countries which is to be held in Cancun next month.

During the discussion of these problems, which represent a basic concern of the nonaligned developing countries and the entire international community, many aspects were considered, including questions connected with financial cooperation and energy cooperation among the developing countries.

In this respect too both sides considered that great attention should be paid and considerable efforts made for a close and long-term cooperation among the developing countries which would represent one way of achieving economic progress, especially by the least developed.

The discussion again referred to the European situation and to individual problems of the old continent. Some foreign political anxieties of the two countries were then outlined in greater detail, as well as the directions of their engagement and building of relations, above all in their own regions.

In considering these questions, today too there is a strong aspiration that the policy of nonalignment, to which the two countries are deeply committed and in the implementation of which both are deeply engaged, should be as successfully as possible implemented in the future. Some of the discussion referred to the assessments of the entire situation in the world, to the conduct of the blocs and to the need to preserve the independence of all countries.

Briefly speaking--it is learned--this was an open and really friendly, comprehensive and meaningful Yugoslav-Kuwaiti dialogue at the highest level which also on this occasion confirmed the high degree of identity of views, concerns and aspirations of the two countries. Tonight's meeting concluded the official Yugoslav-Kuwaiti talks but, it is learned, it may be expected that Sergej Kraigher and Amir as-Sabah will take the opportunity for talks.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION TALKS WITH IRAN REPORTED

Talks Begin

LD141958 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1829 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Summary] Belgrade, 14 Sep (TANJUG)--Talks on Yugoslav-Iranian economic cooperation began in Belgrade today. The Iranian delegation is led by Hoseyn Namazi, minister of finance and economic affairs; and the Yugoslav side by Metod Rotar, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary of foreign trade. It was mentioned that until the Iranian revolution, commodity exchange between the two countries had been virtually negligible and that subsequently it began to develop at a rate which brought Iran into the fifth position among Yugoslavia's foreign trade partners in the nonaligned countries. The value of commodity exchange in 1980 reached $146 million, while in the first 7 months of this year it reached $156 million.

Kostic-Nemazi Meeting

LD162304 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 16 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade 16 Sep (TANJUG)--Petar Kostic, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for finance, had talks today with the government economic delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, led by Dr Hoseyn Nemazi, minister of economy and finance. They discussed economic cooperation between the two countries, which has been increasingly successful in recent years, especially this year. They also discussed specific projects in the sphere of investment cooperation.

The continued promotion of financial cooperation was the object of special attention in the talks between the two ministers. The joint assessment was that the promotion of financial and banking cooperation will open up new paths and possibilities for the development of trade, investment cooperation and cooperation in third markets. It was also judged that a visit from a top-level delegation of the Yugoslav National Bank, with the already developed cooperation between some Yugoslav and Iranian merchant banks, would contribute to cooperation in the continued development of deposit, credit, calculation and general interbank relations. On the Yugoslav side interest was expressed in opening up a joint representative office of Yugoslav merchant banks in Tehran.

The two ministers stated that a continuation of this kind of specific discussion would create the conditions for the continued promotion of financial, banking and economic cooperation between the two countries.

Talk With Ikonic

LD172032 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Sep (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Vice-Premier Branislav Ikonic today received Minister of the Economy and Finance of the Islamic Republic of Iran Hoseyn Nemazi who heads an Iranian economic delegation visiting Yugoslavia.

The ensuing talk related to the expansion and further development of bilateral economic cooperation at a balanced basis, for which significant possibilities exist.

The economic delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran was acquainted with Yugoslavia's possibilities for the expansion of bilateral cooperation in the domain of trade and other segments of economic and technical cooperation.

SERIES OF TALKS BETWEEN LCY, OTHER PARTIES NOTED

LD132222 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] The LCY develops good cooperation relations with a majority of communist and workers' parties in the world, on the principles of full equality and noninterference. Recently, Santiago Carrillo and Enrico Berlinguer were guests of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, while visits by the leader of Italian socialists, Bettino Craxi, and the leader of Spanish socialists, Felipe Gonzales, are expected shortly. Zrnka Novak speaks inconnection with this rich interparty exchange:

The visits by general secretaries of the Spanish and Italian Communist Parties received notable publicity in world, and especially in the West European information media. However, many foreign commentators displayed considerable imagination in trying to delve into some special political background of these visits, with the result that the LCY and our country in these journalistic calculations acquired rather odd epithets, ranging from the idea that we allegedly have the ambition to lead some European global peace initiative to the surmise that Belgrade will become a new meeting place of the so-called autonomous parties. Of course, there is no truth in any of this.

To note that Yugoslavia is a peace-loving country which, in the present constellation of political relations, is worried--as indeed all other progressive and peace-loving forces in the world are--one does not really have to tinker with any background. The age-long and lasting continuity of our foreign political commitment, especially in the Nonaligned Movement, is evident. The meetings with Santiago Carrillo, and subsequently with Enrico Berlinguer, belong to the tradition of good relations and regular contacts which the LCY nurtures with a great number of communist and workers' parties in the world.

However, it must not be ignored that the incentive for this rich exchange of views with the general secretaries of two significant West European communist parties was inherent in the present state of seriously disrupted international political relations and the general crisis of detente, because Socialist Yugoslavia is a nonaligned country but a European country, too. This is why these talks, in addition to contributing to a further promotion of mutual relations between the parties, decidedly focussed on the joint initiative to act in the direction of encouraging talks along the East-West line, to allay the tension, conflicts and incidents which now predominate, and in this business of advancing and developing detente to cooperate with all progressive and democratic forces in the world.

As Enrico Berlinguer said in Belgrade, the countries which belong to blocs--like Italy--also have their function to fulfill in this primary task of encouraging the incipient processes of emancipation of West Europe, and this applies especially to communist and progressive forces in these countries which expressed their long-term platform through the policy of a gradual abolition and obsolescence of military blocs. Of course, the Nonaligned Movement has a special role to play in this respect.

So, during the past and the coming interparty meetings between the LCY and leaders of individual West European communist and workers' parties, there is no obscure background and least of all the desire to establish a new meeting place of the so-called autonomous parties. What happened was that all the talks, and especially their conclusions, stressed the principled conviction that cooperation among communists and workers' parties and among all democratic forces and states must be based on full respect for the principle of sovereign independence, equality and noninterference. As is known, this principle is an integral part of the program platform of the LCY.

GREEK MILITARY DELEGATION ARRIVES IN BELGRADE

LD141420 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1234 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Sep (TANJUG)--Gen Agamemnon Gratisios, commander in chief of the armed forces of the Republic of Greece, has arrived on an official, friendly visit to our country.

At Batajnica Airport the high-ranking guest and the members of the delegation from the friendly neighboring country were welcomed by Adm Branko Mamula, chief of general staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, and his associates. The ceremony was also attended by Dhimitrios Makris, the republic of Greece's ambassador in Yugoslavia, and Lt Col Thomas (Vlachonasiou), the Greek military attache.

During the day, Admiral Mamula had talks with his guest General Gratisios at the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. The talks concerned subjects of interest for the continued promotion of relations and cooperation between the armed forces of the two neighboring countries. They were held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

During their visit to our country the Greek delegation will visit some of our armed forces' units and institutions.

GRLICKOV ON ROLE OF NONALIGNED MOVEMENT

LD142046 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 14 Sep 81

[Text] Titograd, 14 Sep (TANJUG)--Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke in Titograd today to the Montenegro political aktiv and to the political aktiv of the Titograd Military Headquarters.

Usually, quite a long time is needed for a world historical phenomenon to be able to affirm itself completely and express its aims in the real life of the passage of history. The policy and movement of nonalignment have achieved somethingin this respect. In the mere 20 years since the first Belgrade Conference, at which the bases were formulated and affirmed, it may freely be said that the policy and principles of nonalignment and the Nonaligned Movement have reaffirmed themselves in practice in international relations. This, among other things, was said by Dr Aleksandar Grlickov.

In its development up to now nonalignment has grown into a large world political movement. It is difficult to find such condensed universality and global range in the periods of human life up to now in a large number of states and peoples. At least, this has not taken place in any political, ideological, philosophical system or system of civilization in international relations.

In a world in which various forms of political and ideological monolithism are used to pressurize all forms of freedoms, including national freedoms, the policy and movement of nonalignment act as the exponents of the broadest synthesis of national interests which want to express all the heterogenous national interests along the line of their progressive expression, both in the internal and international spheres.

As always in the history of mankind up to now, all great ideas cannot remain anyone's monopoly but become the property of all people. Because of this, all those who are dissatisfied with this world, who want to change it, and all those who want a more peaceful and secure future for mankind incorporated into a system of international relations, seek basic inspirations in the sources, ideas and aims of the policy and movement of nonalignment.

It is not necessary to spell out in detail all those major results which the policy and movement of nonalignment have incorporated into international relations and all the moral and political norms which have become the property of the world and international relations. Of course, as with any world historical movement, the Nonaligned Movement is not uniform nor unidirectional, that is, without its own contradictions, which are either the result of its own self-reproduction or the result of the influence of international relations in general. As a world movement the Nonaligned Movement is an expression and integral part of the contemporary world and its contradictions, a world which changes and which needs to change as an objective need for all countries with a view to realizing their independence and equality.

In this world in which words are trampled on and obligations undertaken in the international sphere are not respected, in which existing international organizations are manipulated, in which formal agreements are violated, special wars take place, armed interventions and all possible forms of interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states take place, the policy and movement of nonalignment appears as an irreplaceable factor of people's aspirations for independence, the democratization of international relations based on equality, and against all forms of imperialistic and hegemonistic domination and exploitation.

In this world, nonaligned countries live and develop with their own and all the world's contradictions. Because of this, the nonaligned movement should not be approached as an idyllic gathering of states between which there exist no differences in interests and views. When assessments are made in the Nonaligned Movement the real problem should not be sought in the existence of differing interests, these should be considered natural and legal as a result of the numerous differences which exist between member-countries. The real problem, Grlickov emphasized, lies in the way in which these differing interests are reconciled and in how to arrive at a joint synthesis without bypassing the differing national interests or imposing some supranational interests. Nor should one be concerned or "ashamed" at the fact that sometimes there is a conflict of particular national interests and joint, general and special aims in relations between member-countries. Great tolerance and mutual respect is needed in order to overcome points of tension and establish harmony between particular and joint interests.

According to Grlickov, the way to promote political and action unity is to deepen democratic relations in the movement, respect the autonomy of all subjects, affirm the idea that every country itself decides and realizes its own national interests, and nurture tolerance patiently when confronted with differences which inevitably arise in this process. Finally, it should be understood that the Nonaligned Movement, as other political conglomerates, is not and will not be able to solve its own, and the world's contradictions directly. This approach prevents excesses of euphoria and pessimism when assessing the situation, circumstances and future of the policy and movement of nonalignment.

The slogan about unity through differences should be given even greater ideological content and further affirmed as the democratic antithesis to any form of uniformity. It should be understood that the movement of nonalignment was able to grow into the broadest political movement precisely because it permitted the manifestation of these differences. Of course, one should not ignore that there are political forces attempting to take advantage of the objective differences in interests and ideas in the Nonaligned Movement to strengthen their positions among the nonaligned countries and to gain influence in and on the Nonaligned Movement, even to the extent of endangering its influence and splitting the movement itself. By dramatizing and exaggerating differences, attempts are made to affirm bloc methods of activity and "discipline" and to pose ideological monolithism as an ideal of "unity and effectiveness".

By insisting on an stimulating ideological, political and economic differences, attempts are made to expand political space to offer one's own "services" on a platform of bloc geostrategical political interests.

When the policy and the movement of nonalignment at the present time is discussed, Grlickov went on to say, one is rightly asked the question regarding the relationship between the ideological and class-social component part and that between nonalignment and the anti-imperialist and anticolonialist revolution of the peoples. There are different concepts on this question; basically speaking they are not favorable to the policy and the movement of nonalignment, but are, on the contrary, directly aimed at shaking its powerful presence in international relations. One of these theses is that nonaligned countries are "the Trojan Horse of communism" so as to bring pressure to bear on them to place themselves in the service of anticommunism and to accept the example of the Western "model" of development. On the other side, we meet the opposite thesis, that the Nonaligned Movement gathers together an amorphous group of countries which can acquire its class credentials only by tying itself to the socialist "model". What is involved is the well-known thesis about "natural alliance". Both the former and the latter concept forget that the authentic ideopolitical credentials of the policy and the movement of nonalignment lie in the fact that the movement represents a motive force of continuing the anticolonial revolution.

The principles of peaceful coexistence among the countries with different social systems potentially ensure peace in the world without, at the same time, hindering the class struggle, the struggle for social transformation and for socialism in any country. This is insisted on by the dialectical synthesis (?concerning the wish) to overcome the socio-economic status quo on the internal plane and the existing systems of political and economic relations on the international plane, which all makes up the social substance of the nonaligned policy and movement.

The question is often asked about the future of the policy and movement of nonalignment. Has the era of overcoming the general and concrete world-historic conditions on which the policy and movement of nonalignment have grown been overcome? Have the socio historic circumstances which established the need for the emergence of nonalignment been changed? In asking these questions one proceeds from the assumption that specific social phenomena live until concrete world historic reasons in which they have emerged have been overcome. This applies to all world historic phenomena. This also applies to the Nonaligned Movement just as much as it applies to the phenomenon of blocs and the bloc division of the world. If we say that the sociohistoric circumstances which created the need for the emergence of the movement have not changed we primarily have in mind the fact that bloc groups of the great powers exist and operate even today, that imperialist, hegemonist and other forces of domination operate, and that there exists inequality in international political and economic relations, the present inequality in international political and economic relations. The present development has shown that bloc structures have historic prospects to an increasingly small degree, because they have already begun to be too narrow to express the national interest of the bloc member countries. Friction among them is a reality. For that reason it could be said without hesitation or bias that both in the historic and in the concrete sense of the word the blocs are transient while nonalignment is the future of international relations.

At the Sixth Nonaligned Summit in Havana, the original principles of the policy and of the movement of nonaligned countries were defended successfully, the tendencies of its being "sucked in" were arrested, but its objective contradictions and subjective wishes and reorientation aspirations were not removed. Objective contradictions cannot be eliminated. For this reason, efforts have to be made to search for more efficient ways of solving them peacefully. This is the basic strategic problem of our decade.

Contradictions of a varying nature do not threaten the movement. What is at stake is not how to survive but how more efficiently to resolve our own contradictions and how to strengthen action and the political ability of the movement to resolve world political, economic and moral crises, world crises in general. More has to be done in this respect to ensure that the movement becomes a movement of the masses keeping its total institutional structural system, Doctor Aleksander Grlickov said in conclusion.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE PRESIDIUM MEETS 17 Sep

LD172040 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1734 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Sep (TANJUG)--The LCY Central Committee Presidium met today in Belgrade to discuss preparations for the next session of the LCY Central Committee.

The Presidium decided to propose that the LCY Central Committee, at its session on 29 September, should discuss the country's socioeconomic situation, and the tasks of the League of Communists which were discussed by the Presidium today.

The Central Committee will also be asked to adopt the decision on convening the 12th LCY Congress and on the criterions and manner of the election of congress delegates.

The highest federal officials took part in the meeting of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

COMMISSION DISCUSSES RESOLUTION FOR LCY CONGRESS

AU161642 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 81 p 1

[Summary] Belgrade, 10 Sep (TANJUG)--"At its largest forthcoming meeting, the 12th congress, the LCY will confirm the continuity of its policy based on the principles of autonomy and independence. Nonalignment, as our country's fundamental foreign political orientation and as the guarantee of our independence and reputation in the world, will be strongly emphasized, and not only the past effectiveness of this policy but also the prospects that it opens world wide will be especially pointed out.

"This was stated at today's session of the commission for preparing the draft resolution of the 12th LCY Congress on the struggle for peace, international cooperation on the basis of equality, and socialism in the world."

According to a number of suggestions and proposals at the session, which was presided over by Dr Dusan Dragosavac, the resolution "should even more strongly emphasize the interdependence of our nonaligned policy and the self-managing system as the basic social relationship in our country. Dusan Ckrebic, Josip Vrhovec, Vidoje Zarkovic, Kiro Gligorov, Kiro Hadzivasilev, Vlado Janzic, Stipe Suvar, Milan Kucan, Bosko Stankovski, Ante Markovic, Bora Milosevic and several others participated in the discussion at the session and emphasized among other things that the resolution "should elucidate the crisis of international relations as analytically and thoroughly as possible, point to the solutions to that situation, and especially call attention to the factors of positive change in the world. The role and importance of nonaligned countries were especially pointed out in this connection."

As was stated at the session, both in the coming discussions and in the resolution itself it is necessary to even more strongly call attention to changes in the world since the 11th LCY Congress; that is, "an increased tension in international relations, deepening crises, contradictions within the two existing social systems and the increased forces struggling for peace."

A more analytical and comprehensive approach must be adopted toward such "key issues of the contemporary world as socialism as a world process and contradictions in the development of capitalism", as well as to the essence of the struggle for a new international economic system.

Discussing the implementation of Yugoslavia's foreign policy, the commission pointed out that the League of Communists "must clearly state its views" on such "negative" experiences as "poor coordination, inefficiency and unloyal competition" in the country's foreign relations, as well as the fact that Yugoslavia's "share in the world economic exchange does not correspond to the scope of the country's foreign policy." A traditionalist and uneven distribution in Yugoslavia's foreign economic cooperation is still very evident, the commission concluded, and at the same time called for "a greater socialization and democratization of our foreign policy."

ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE DISCUSSES ECONOMIC SITUATION

AU171657 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Summary] At its session today the Committee for Markets and Prices of the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces discussed implementing the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces on implementing the economic stabilization policy. Momcilo Boskovic reports:

"In the last 3 months, the increase of industrial production has reached the rate of 8 percent. Exports have also increased although they have not as yet reached the planned level. This fact is all the more cause for concern because in the period until the end of the year the economy will face numerous difficulties and problems because of the restrictions on imports of producer and raw materials, which will certainly affect an increase in production."

However, at the meeting Dusan Anakioski, representative of the Federal Executive Council, introduced an encouraging note when he reported that the current domestic market supplies of coal, sugar, edible oil and medicines are sufficient, and that even considerable reserves of these commodities for a longer period have now been created. No efforts are being spared to ensure a regular supply of the domestic market with the most highly demanded products, and therefore the planned exports of sugar will be cancelled.

According to a report at the meeting by Anton Polajnar, president of the Federal Committee for Markets and Prices, the price situation is calming down. Judging by all available evidence, the pressures for price increases that were very strong toward the end of the last year and at the beginning of the current year will not be repeated at the end of 1981, with the exception of certain justified demands. Polajnar informed the committee that the first discussions and consultations between the Republican and Provincial Executive Councils on the price policy for 1982 are already in progress, in order to prevent a recurrence of the situation experienced in 1981.

Delegates of the committee requested that "the Federal Executive Council inform them regularly on how the conclusions of Yugoslavia's Presidency and their chamber on implementing the economic stabilizaition policy are being carried out. For, as was stated, our people are well acquainted with the economic situation in which we find ourselves. and expect us to show them the ways and methods to overcome it as soon as possible.

CHAMBER OF ECONOMY REVIEWS TRADE WITH ALBANIA

AU121800 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Sep 81 p 6

[TANJUG report]

[Text] Yesterday in the Chamber of Economy of Yugoslavia, representatives of the economic organizations trading with enterprises in Albania discussed the economic relations between the two countries this year. The greatest part of discussion concerned the contracted Yugoslav deliveries of products of the iron and steel industry, semifinished aluminum products, certain raw materials for the production of detergents, cotton and edible oil.

The possibilities for additional deliveries of certain products to the Albanian partners were also considered. This is particularly important because of the increased imports of electric power from Albania.

Alija Basic, assistant federal secretary for foreign trade, informed members of the section for economic relations with Albania of the Chamber of Economy of Yugoslavia on the Yugoslav-Albanian talks on implementing the trade protocol for this year which were held in Tirana toward the end of July. The proposed goods lists of the two countries for next year as well as possible deliveries of capital investment equipment to Albania were also considered at the session.

KOSOVO DEFENSE COUNCIL VIEWS TERRITORIAL DEFENSE

AU161402 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 81 p 9

[Text] Pristina, 14 Sep (TANJUG)--At its session today chaired by Ali Sukrija, the Council for National Defense of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo discussed and supported the draft directives for the further development of territorial defense in the province.

As has been announced, the council also adopted its own program tasks until the end of the year and discussed some other current issues in its jurisdiction.

SINAN HASANI DISCUSSES SECURITY IN KOSOVO

LD171634 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Pristina, 17 Sep (TANJUG)--Sinan Hasani, member of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee presidium, talked in Pristina today about the course of stabilization of the political security situation in the province with the directors and chief and executive editors of the information media from all the republics and provinces, who are paying Kosovo a 2-day working visit.

At the beginning of the talk, Sinan Hasani stressed that it is assessed in the province that the political security situation in Kosovo is improving from day to day. This is the fruit of the actions by the sociopolitical forces of Kosovo, the Republic of Serbia and the entire country.

Pointing out the elements on which the assessment of improved conditions in the province is based, Sinan Hasani cited the successful beginning of work in schools and the extensive preparations for teaching at the university, the normal cultural and sporting life in the province and the fact that enemy activity is not so open now as last spring. However, Hasani noted, the enemy continues to demand a republic, most frequently through slogans and pamphlets. Intense propaganda activity from Albania is also in evidence. Because of all this there is no room for complacency over the results achieved, because the process of establishing complete control over the total situation in the province is only just beginning.

Speaking about ideopolitical differentiation, Sinan Hasani emphasized that that process, though still slow in places, had extended to all the spheres of life in the province. A total of 550 members have been expelled from the League of Communists and 350 names have been deleted from records. Apart from that, 210 people have been dismissed from their posts, largely in education. At the same time, 270 pupils and students have been expelled from school and faculties for specific periods of time. Several enemy groups and organizers of demonstrations have been uncovered and exposed, so that 226 persons have been called to account before the courts for enemy activity and counterrevolutionary work aimed against the country's stability and integrity and our nations' and nationalities' brotherhood and unity and togetherness.

Hasani went on to stress that, along with the efforts being made to regularize political security conditions in the province, more and more attention is being paid to economic stabilization. However, this involvement is not yet proportionate to the gravity and number of problems and difficulties in the province's economy. Losses have exceeded, let us say, 1.6 billion dinars, while on the other hand wages have risen by over 50 percent. In this connection, Hasani pointed out the need to be more energetic in eliminating subjective shortcomings in the economy and the necessity for day-to-day struggle for higher production and productivity, more efficient economic activity and more vigorous development of self-managing relations.

Hasani devoted part of his speech to intranational relations, noting that they have been disrupted and that this was in fact the aim of the hostile action. The process of emigration is especially worrying. Of course, action has been taken against all aspects of pressure but it has not yet produced satisfactory results. In some environments there has been no adequate denunciation of such phenomena or action to prevent them. A well prepared program of constant development of togetherness is also lacking.

Referring to the work of the information media in the province in recent months, Hasani said that on the whole this work is not at the level required by the action program of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo. More is expected of them, especially as regards the clarification of many problems pointed out in the action program. Most of the information media in the country has contributed to the settling of the situation in the province. Of course, Hasani added, there have also been omissions, individual cases of dramatiziation, excessive nervousness and also reports which did more harm than good.

During the very open and meaningful conversation lasting 2 and 1/2 hours, Hasani answered a large number of questions about the process of political differentation, the elimination of antistabilization phenomena, the elimination of differences between social strata, the increased ability of the League of Communists and other topical problems of political and economic life in Kosovo.

KOSOVO STILL LACKS 1981-85 DEVELOPMENT PLAN

AU170927 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 81 p 2

[Murteza Daci article: "Development of Kosovo: Change at Key Points"]

[Summary] The Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo still has no development plan for the 1981-85 medium-term plan period. The first version of the province's medium-term plan was withdrawn in March and, according to some indications, the first projections of the 1981-85 plan will be completed only this month. Consequently it seems that the rate of development of Kosovo for the current 5-year period will be missed and "it is quite certain that the original investment plans for the first year of the current medium-term period will not be fulfilled." In June a working group of the Federal and the Serbian Executive Councils visited Kosovo and at that time Zvone Dragan, who represented the Federal Executive Council in the group, said that the entire year would be lost unless the accords on supplementary measures for stimulating a quicker development of Kosovo were coordinated and verified within the next 2 months. Those accords have not been signed so far, and therefore, this year Kosovo, as well as the country's other undeveloped regions, will be virtually deprived of the funds that they should recieve through the association of labor and pooling of resources with other parts of the country.

Kosovo is now engaged in preparing a plan that will be feasible and ensure the province's quicker development in the future.

"Its development programs must ensure greater income and, what is particularly important, greater employment." It is planned to build those industrial plants which will primarily process the raw materials available in the province and the country and will employ as many workers as possible. It is particularly important to ensure that the cost of one new working place will not exceed 1-2 million dinars and thereby to provide employment for 50,000 to 60,000 new workers in the current 5-year period, raising the percentage of employment to 13 percent of the province's population, that is, 2 percent above the present employment rate.

The advancement of agriculture will also be accelerated both in the social and individual sectors. The completion of the Ibar-Lepenac and Radonjic water resources and irrigation systems will increase the total acreage especially for the most lucrative crops. According to Riza Sapundzija, vice president of the Kosovo Executive Council, this development will also "influence the emigration from villages to cities which is now a special problem of the province." It is planned to build certain industrial plants in 12 major village centers which will primarily process agricultural raw materials and employ primarily young people.

Specific measures will prevent any future construction of the industrial projects that fail to meet the adopted criteria, increased income and employment.

"In the current talks on joint ventures with the associated labor from other parts of the country, primary consideration is given to the projects that will effect a gradual change in the province's economic structure. For that reason all investments will be reexamined selectively." The development funds of Kosovo for the current medium-term plan period provided by the Federal Fund for Development of Undeveloped Regions and the investments by the associated labor from other parts of the country will amount to about 63 billion dinars. "The aim of the plan will be to tie into the country's large systems because that is the only way to ensure profitable economic operations by the existing and future economic facilities. The process of reducing the state's participation in decision making in the spheres of investments and expanded reproduction will also be accelerated in this manner."

MATKALIEV, KOSTIC REVIEW ENERGY SITUATION

AU101808 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Summary] Today Stojan Matkaliev, president of the Federal Committee for Energy and Industry, and Petar Kostic, federal secretary for finance, held a press conference at which they discussed the current energy situation in our country. Aleksandar Vlajkovic and Dusan Djordjevic report:

"The oil supply situation is the most difficult one at this time, Stojan Matkaliev, president of the Federal Committee for Energy and Industry, said." According to the revised energy plan, this year Yugoslavia will import 10.0 million tons of crude oil, that is, 875,000 tons less than was originally planned. In the first 8 months, the country imported over six million tons of crude oil. In September it plans to buy 1.26 million tons of crude oil, but so far it has secured only 750,000 tons of it. The Yugoslav National Bank has allotted $100 million for the purchase of 350,000 tons of crude oil and the republics and provinces have pledged dinar deposits for crude oil purchases.

In the last 8 months, the country's coal mines increased their coal deliveries by 10.5 percent as compared with the same period last year. They will fulfill their annual production plans with the exception of the plans for brown and hard coal. The hydroelectric and thermal electric powerplants have increased their production by 3 percent but electric power consumption has increased by 5.8 percent, and therefore it has been necessary to import electric power from the neighboring countries.

The difficulties in this respect have been further exacerbated by the breakdowns of some generating units in the Obrenovac, Kostolac, Zagreb and Kakanj thermal electric powerplants and the repairs at the Tuzla, Trbovlje, Ljubljana, Morava and Kosovo thermal electric powerplants. It is anticipated that the repairs of the Obrenovac generating unit will be completed in early December. The situation will further improve when the Krsko nuclear powerplant is commissioned for regular operations on 1 October. In October and the following months, the new Bitola and Novi Sad thermal electric powerplants and the Salakovac, Grabovica and Bocac hydroelectric powerplants will be commissioned for regular operations.

Petar Kostic, federal secretary for finance, said that the necessary accords and agreements have been concluded to pool the resources to import the necessary quantities of oil and coking coal and to ensure an even supply to the republics and provinces. In the first 6 months, a total of $1,752,000,000 was spent for crude oil purchases in the convertible currency area. However, at the same time, the republics and provinces paid for some 85 percent of oil supplies with short-term credits, and consequently the country's plan for short-term credits has been exceeded by $400 million. The Federal Executive Council will take appropriate measures to reduce the total amount of short-term credits to last year's level. Petar Kostic noted that Slovenia has been the most consistent in honoring the existing system of ensuring the necessary foreign exchange for oil imports.

Although Stojan Matkaliev and Petar Kostic did not appraise the present energy situation as critical, they warned that the Federal Executive Council would not allow any serious disruptions in the supply of oil and oil products.

'DIFFICULT' ENERGY SITUATION FORESEEN FOR 1982

AU171608 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Next year again, the crude oil supply will be insufficient to meet the market demand. For that reason, the discussion held at the general association of oil industry today concerned itself more with possibilities for oil imports and domestic oil production thatn with our needs. Our reporter, Olivija Rusovac adds the following to this information:

It is even now clear at the beginning of discussions on the draft resolution for next year that the energy situation will be difficult. The situation is made difficult not only by a shortage of foreign exchange funds for oil imports, but also by the unsolved question of whether oil will be imported by the republics according to their own possibilities or whether the funds will be united at the level of the federation. It is also not known as yet what the 1982 energy supply and demand plan will be. As regards crude oil, it is planned to import 10.5 million tons, and at the same time the country's oil industry is expected to produce 4.3 million tons of crude oil. All that amounts to 200,000 tons below the original plans, and the reason for that is undoubtedly in the difference between the prices of domestic and foreign crude oils. Finally, it is also planned to import 460,000 tons of oil products. Kerosene is not included in this figure because it is still unclear under which budget item it should be accounted for. But it is foreseen that some 450,000 tons of kerosene will be imported.

This time again the excessively large capacities of Yugoslav refineries are the main obstacle. These refineries are capable of processing a total of 18.7 million tons of crude oil, but will instead process 3.5 million tons of crude oil less. However, the real picture of the difference between the needs and possibilities will only be obtained when the trading organizations also specify the extent of consumer demands.

TRIAL OF POET CRITICAL OF TITO REPORTED

Trial Resumes 16 Sep

LD170530 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1931 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade 16 Sep (TANJUG)--The trial of Gojko Djogo, author of the "Woolen Times" collection of poetry resumed here in Belgrade today. Gojko Djogo is charged with maliciously and untruthfully presenting in the "Woolen Times," published in April this year, socio-political conditions in Yugoslavia, undertaking to belittle achievements of the Yugoslav socialist revolution and grossly insulting symbols and values of Yugoslav society, including, in some poems, the personality of President Tito.

The Djogo trial opened on July 2 this year and was adjourned on July 8 after which Djogo was released from detention to stand trial while free.

Editor of the Belgrade "Prosveta" publishing house, which published the "Woolen Times," Svetlana Velmar Jankovic had originally stated that Djogo had introduced subsequent changes in his original manuscript without the publisher's knowledge. On taking the witness stand today, however, Svetlana Velmar Jankovic said that she was no longer sure on this point.

Svetlana Velmar Jankovic today said that when first reading the manuscript of the "Woolen Times" no associations attributed to the collection of poems had come to her but that later, influenced by the reactions to the poems, she, herself, could not escape these associations.

The board of judges today denied the defense's renewed request for an expertise of Djogo's book. In his closing statement today, prosecutor Danito Jovanovic insisted on all the points of the indictment. He underlines that the case is not one of poetry on trial, as some should like to present, but, instead, of Djogo's abuse of poetry.

Tomorrow, the defense will make its closing statement and the verdict will be handed down.

Poet Sentenced to 2 Years

LD172117 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1702 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Sep (TANJUG)--The District Court in Belgrade today found Gojko Djogo, author of the "Woolen Times" collection of poems, guilty of the act of hostile propaganda as stipulated by article no. 133 of the SFRY criminal code and sentenced him to 2 years' imprisonment.

Before handing down the sentence, the court heard the final plea by the defense, officially represented by lawyer Branislav Tapuskovic, and the defendant, Gojko Djogo. Defense Counsel Tapuskovic based his defense on the thesis of the ambiguity of poetry and on the possibility of various interpretations, as well as on the fact that the collection does not explicitly say what the indictment accuses Djogo of. The defense considers that the original manuscript of the collection which was used during the proceedings, shows that some poems were written before the events with which the indictment had linked them and that some poems or even some verses were assessed outside the context of the collection.

In his final speech which lasted 2 and 1/2 hours, the defendant, Djogo said that his collection does not contain what has been ascribed to it and that the trial is the consequence of an unfortunate disagreement.

He said that in any case his poetry was read as if it had one meaning only but that the nature of poetry is such that it assumes different associations depending on who reads it.

He also argued that it was accidental coincidence that his collection came out in print when certain events occurred in our country and that certain views expressed at the time of publication of the collection in "PROSVETA" influenced public opinion about it.

Verbally explaining the sentence on behalf of the bench, which included Judges Lidija Kostic and Drazen Popovic, the chairman, Judge Menijamin Pejovic, said that despite all arguments about the various interpretations of poetry individual verses written by Gojko Djogo could only be read in one way. He quoted some verses from certain poems. Judge Pejovic said that the court considered them as a malicious and hostile presentation of the situation in our country. The court also considers that the proceedings established that poems "Beast Among Beasts" and "(?Black Circle) on the Republic Square" were not in the original version of the collection. The bench also assessed that the act for which Djogo was tried, that is, malicious and untruthful presentation of the sociopolitical situation in our country, was committed in a clearly premeditated manner but, when determining the sentence, it took into consideration that there were no aggravating circumstances.

AFP Reports Sentence

NC171808 Paris AFP in English 1744 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Sep (AFP)--Yugoslav poet Gojko Djogo was sentenced today to two years in prison for "hostile propaganda" but was given temporary freedom pending appeal.

The 41-year-old poet was more specifically found guilty of having presented a "malevolent and mendacious" picture of the political situation in Yugoslavia in a published collection of poems. He was also found guilty in the same volume of having "insulted" the memory of the late Yugoslav president, Marshal Josip Broz Tito.

The book was seized shortly after it came out last May and all copies were ordered destroyed. At the same time, author Djogo was arrested and kept in prison from May 29 to July 8 when freed pending trial.

In his defense, the poet called the accusations "abusive" and based on "a juxtaposition of certain verses and certain poems" taken entirely out of context with the aim of supporting the charges.

Djogo said his case had been fabricated from beginning to end by "political circles within (Yugoslav) culture."

MINIC ADDRESSES KOSIJERIC MEMORIAL MEETING

LD131710 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Summary] Kosijeric, 13 Sep (TANJUG)--A memorial complex was unveiled in the village of Radanovci near Kosijeric today at the spot where Zikica Jovanovic-Spanac was killed [in 1941]. The function was opened by the president of the Kosijeric Municipal Assembly and the speaker at the rally was Milos Minic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

"Having recalled the great historic role played by Zikica Jovanovic-Spanac, Milos Minic spoke of the postwar development of our self-management socialist community and its foreign policy and role in the nonaligned world.

"Speaking of the enemy attack on the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities and of the counterrevolution in Kosovo, Milos Minic said: 'Encouraged by the events in Kosovo, the difficult international situation and other circumstances, Albanian, Serbo and other kinds of nationalism have recently been revived in our country. They are all appearing under various guises, including clerico-nationalism and they are all trying to sow chauvinist sentiments and are provoking mistrust and dissension among our nations and nationalities. All nationalism is an attempt to fan national hatred and intolerance, which by our constitution and our legislation is one of the gravest crimes against the people and the state and must be very severely punished."

"Milos Minic also referred to the complex situation in our economy and in this connection he said: 'Not all results expected this year are being attained in the implementation of our stabilization policy. On several occasions the LCY Central Committee has issued warnings about the unsatisfactory developments in our economy and about self-management lagging behind. Recently the SFRY Presidency also issued a letter warning seriously about the urgent problems of our economy. There can hardly be a task which for all workers, farmers and citizens, for associated labor, for municipalities, republics, provinces and for federal organs can be more urgent and more important than all-round work to improve the economic situation in our country."

TWO ESCAPEES DIE IN CLASH WITH KOSOVO MILITIA

AU152136 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Sep 81

[Text] The Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Pec has announced that this afternoon members of the Public Security Service in Pec clashed with two criminals who had escaped from the educational correctional institution where they served their sentences. Today a militia patrol found escapees Salih Ljajci and Ahmed Celjaj, and called on them to surrender. They answered the call with pistol fire and the patrol returned the fire. Ahmed Celjaj died in the exchange of fire and Salih Ljajci was seriously wounded and succumbed to injuries on the way to the Pristina hospital. No one was injured among the members of the Security Service who participated in the clash.

MACEDONIAN COURT SENTENCES 3 ALBANIANS FOR ESPIONAGE

LD171056 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0925 GMT 17 Sep 81

[Text] Bitola 17 Sep (TANJUG)--The council of five judges of the district court in Bitola, Socialist Republic of Macedonia, chaired by Jovica Fidanovski, pronounced sentences on three Albanian nationalists and irredentists for criminal offenses against the foundations of the socialist self-managing social order and security of the SFRY.

Ibraim Dauti (39), of the village of Frangovo in Struga, driver for the Institute of Town Planning in Ohrid, was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment; Dzemail Demiri (34), of the village of Koroniste in Struga, graduate lawyer in charge of property-legal relations in the Ohrid Municipal Assembly, was sentenced to 7 years imprisomment; and Kadri Polozani (49), of the village of Livada in Struga, Muslim priest in Ohrid, was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment.

During the 2-day hearing it was proved that Ibraim Dauti was guilty of two offenses: espionage under article 128, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the SFRY Criminal Code; the second and third accused persons were found by the court to be guilty of the criminal offense of espionage under article 128, paragraphs 1 and 3.